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Examining Editions of
THE NATURAL HISTORY OF ALEPPO:
Revitalizing Eighteenth-Century Texts

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Abstract

This thesis revisits the liberal intellectual tradition of the Scottish Enlightenment by comparing two editions of *The Natural History of Aleppo* (1756: 1794) written and/or edited by Scottish physicians, half-brothers Alexander and Patrick Russell, in which they recorded their observations of Aleppo in northern Syria. There has been only one other monograph written about this text, entitled *Aleppo observed* by Maurits van den Boogert and published in 2010. As yet no comparative study of the two editions seems to have been made. As a result, this thesis should revitalize interest in *The Natural History of Aleppo* (1756 and 1794) across academic fields including Levantine and Ottoman studies, subject-specific disciplines and in the Scottish context.

This thesis is divided into four parts. In the first part Chapter 1 provides a literature review and outlines the structure of this thesis. Chapter 2 is a synopsis of the authors' life histories as background for subsequent discussion. In Part II, the popularity of the two editions (1756 and 1794) is assessed (Chapter 3). This assessment is followed by an appraisal of literary aspects of the two editions of an eighteenth-century text (Chapter 4). To assess the quality, originality and relative significance of *Aleppo* further, selected topics covered variously in the two editions are explored in Part III (Chapter 5 on medicine, Chapter 6 on flora and fauna, and Chapter 7 on aspects of the exotic). The final Part IV provides a range of conclusions to revitalize eighteenth-century texts and suggests topics for further research.

[Word count 99,990]

Declaration

I declare that no portion of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or professional qualification in this or any other University.

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I declare that this thesis has been composed by Janet Catherine Murray Starkey only.

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Dedication

Peace and prosperity for the people of Aleppo

CONTENTS

Abstract	2
Declaration	3
Dedication	4
Acknowledgements	9
Part I Setting the scene	
CHAPTER 1. Introducing the Research Project	11
1.0 Introduction	11
1.1 Research remit	11
1.1.1 Selection of <i>Aleppo</i> as the case study	14
1.1.2 The authors of <i>Aleppo</i>	15
1.1.3 The city of Aleppo as the subject of <i>Aleppo</i>	16
1.2 Literature review	18
1.2.1 Previous work on <i>Aleppo</i>	18
1.2.2 Studies about <i>Aleppo</i> . Contextualizing the research project	24
1.3 Summary of this thesis and associated conclusions	30
CHAPTER 2. The Russell family: life histories and chains of friendship	33
2.0 Introduction	33
2.1 In Edinburgh	33
2.1.1 Family background	33
2.1.2 The Scottish Enlightenment, education and medical training	37
2.1.3 Later qualifications	41
2.1.4 Towards Aleppo	42
2.2 In Aleppo	46
2.2.1 The Russells as Physicians in Aleppo	46
2.2.2 The Russells and the Levant Company	47
2.2.3 Leisure and entertainment	52
2.2.4 Leaving Aleppo	54
2.3 After Aleppo: medical and social networks	55
2.3.1 Family	56
2.3.2 Physicians in London	58
2.3.3 Interlude in India	63
2.3.4 Deaths and bequests	66
2.4 Conclusion	68

Part II Examining *Aleppo*

CHAPTER 3. The Readership: popularizing and publicizing <i>Aleppo</i>	70
3.0 Introduction	70
3.1 The Scottish Enlightenment — and related genres	71
3.1.1 <i>Aleppo</i> within the genre of ‘natural history’	73
3.1.2 <i>Aleppo</i> within the genre of travel writing	78
3.2 Engaging Europe: <i>Aleppo</i> in translation	82
3.3 Popularizing <i>Aleppo</i> : compendia	83
3.4 Contemporary reviews of <i>Aleppo</i>	85
3.4.1 <i>The Critical Review</i>	86
3.4.2 <i>The Literary Magazine</i>	91
3.4.3 <i>The Monthly Review</i>	95
3.4.4 Reviews of <i>Aleppo</i> ²	97
3.4.4.1 <i>The Monthly Review</i>	97
3.4.4.2 <i>The British Critic</i> and other reviews of <i>Aleppo</i> ²	105
3.5 Conclusion	106
CHAPTER 4. Analysing <i>Aleppo</i> . Inspirations and authorities	108
4.0 Introduction	108
4.1 Structures	109
4.1.1 <i>Aleppo</i> ¹	109
4.1.2 <i>Aleppo</i> ²	119
4.2 Literary devices and apparatuses	121
4.2.1 Arabic typefaces	121
4.2.2 Footnotes	122
4.2.3 Indexes	122
4.2.4 Illustrations	125
4.2.5 Related texts	127
4.3 Influential literary models	128
4.3.1 Models for Alexander	129
4.3.2 Models for Patrick	133
4.4 Bibliographic authorities	137
4.5 The editorial process: a case study	149
4.6 Conclusion	153

Part III Medicine, flora and fauna, and ‘pleasures of the imagination’

CHAPTER 5. Towards ‘new medicine’	155
5.0 Introduction	155
5.1 From humoral to ‘new’ medicine	156
5.1.1 Traditional medicine	156
5.1.2 Boerhaave’s ‘new’ medicine	160
5.2 Epidemic diseases: three different research paths	165
5.2.1 Embellishing Alexander’s research: <i>cutaneous leishmaniasis</i>	169
5.2.2 Cooperation: variolation and prevention of smallpox	171
5.2.3 Developing Alexander’s research on the plague	175
5.3 Epidemic Diseases: causation and pestilential contagion	181
5.4 Conclusion	183
CHAPTER 6. Flora and fauna: towards Linnaean classification	185
6.0 Introduction	185
6.1 <i>The Natural History of Aleppo</i>	186
6.2 From Aristotle to <i>Aleppo</i> ²	191
6.2.1 A case study on stimulants	198
6.3 The influence of Linnaeus	202
6.3.1 Linnaean terminology	204
6.3.2 Gardens: collecting plants and seeds	209
6.4 New therapeutics and experimental pharmacology	211
6.5 Conclusion	217
CHAPTER 7. ‘Pleasures of the imagination’: exploring the exotic	221
7.0 Introduction	221
7.1 The Scottish Enlightenment and the celebration of pleasure	223
7.2 Exploring the exotic and rational objectivity	224
7.2.1 Exoticism or accuracy: Turkish baths and the harem	226
7.2.2 Searching for authenticity: coffee houses and puppet shows	232
7.2.3 Substantiating observations: music	235
7.3 ‘The Century of the <i>Arabian Nights</i> ’	242
7.4 Conclusion	253

Part IV Epilogue

CHAPTER 8. Conclusions and future projects	255
8.0 Drawing conclusions	255
8.1 Comments on selected topics	258
8.2 Suggestions for future research projects	261
8.3 Conclusion	265

Appendices and Bibliographies	267
APPENDIX 1. Diagrams and maps	268
APPENDIX 2. Merchants and officials	271
APPENDIX 3 Archives: collections, illustrations and manuscripts	276

Bibliography

1. Publications and other works by members of the Russell family	284
2. Pre-1805 publications including those cited in <i>Aleppo</i>	288
3. Post-1805 publications	312

Figures

FIGURE 1. Russell family portraits	37
FIGURE 2. The march of the medical militants to the siege of Warwick Lane Castle in the year 1767 (London: R. Sayer and J. Smith, 1768).	59
FIGURE 3. A comparison of the structure and contents of <i>Aleppo</i> ¹ and <i>Aleppo</i> ²	118
FIGURE 4. A comparison of a selection of index items in <i>Aleppo</i> ¹ and <i>Aleppo</i> ²	124
FIGURE 5. Niebuhr's plan of the city of Aleppo (<i>Aleppo</i> ² , i, opposite p.13)	127
FIGURE 6. 'The Prospect of Aleppo' from Henry Maundrell, <i>A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem</i> , 1 (c.1703). Signed 'MB', probably M. Burghers (artist and engraver)	142
FIGURE 7. A comparison of two sample pages of Cleghorn's <i>Epidemical diseases</i> and Alexander's <i>Aleppo</i> .	187
FIGURE 8. The Little Bittern drawn from the same specimen (Arabic. <i>Sulwa</i> ; <i>Aves Grallae minuta</i> ; now called <i>Ixobrychus minutus</i>)	195
FIGURE 9. Examples of Ehret's illustrations (Plate XV, <i>Aleppo</i> ² , ii, 265)	199
FIGURE 10. From left, a <i>kādī</i> smoking a <i>kalian</i> (water pipe <i>qalyān</i>); a <i>sardār</i> (<i>aga</i> of the Janissaries) a page boy and a <i>bashaw</i> smoking a pipe (<i>Aleppo</i> ² , i, 102–4).	206
FIGURE 11. Comparing a small group of the many botanical terms used by Alexander and Patrick Russell, with modern terminology	219
FIGURE 12. 'Turkish lady of condition in the proper dress of Aleppo. She is represented as sitting carelessly on a divan smoking a pipe and her servant presenting a dish of coffee in the usual manner.' (<i>Aleppo</i> ² , i, opposite p.107)	229
FIGURE 13. A Turkish concert, exhibits the several instruments used in chamber music (<i>Aleppo</i> ² , i, 152).	237
FIGURE 14. A comparison of terms used in <i>Aleppo</i> ¹ and <i>Aleppo</i> ² for musical instruments	239
FIGURE 15. Location of Aleppo.	268
FIGURE 16. Aerial photograph of the Khan al-Jumruk and surrounding bazaars.	268
FIGURE 17. Layout of the Khan al-Jumruk and associated bazaars	269
FIGURE 18. Khan al-Jumruk complex ground plan	269
FIGURE 19. Location of Vishākhapatnam (N17 41' (N 17° 41' 24" E 83° 12' 33") on the Bay of Bengal, Adapted from saints.sqpn.com/ncd04163.htm.	270
FIGURE 20. 'India in the time of Warren Hastings'	270

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I was given a 1779 edition of a compendium containing excerpts from *Aleppo* by Dr Robert Bell, a plastic surgeon who was also an expert on Oriental games, and as a result of this gift I came to write this thesis. I will always be grateful to Robbie and his family for the opportunity this afforded. Likewise, I am indebted to the late Dr Robin Dix, whose publications I was privileged to edit, for introducing me to eighteenth-century physician-authors, especially to Mark Akenside MD, and to Professor Ann Moss for encouraging me to refresh my interest in French and Latin texts. I was able to benefit from the supportive academic network of Association for the Study of Egypt and the Near East (ASTENE), and am especially indebted to Deborah Manley who encouraged me to ask many questions about eighteenth-century travellers to the Middle East. Also to BRISMES for I was given useful opportunities to present initial findings at its conferences. Especial thanks are due to Maurits van den Boogert for kindly sending me early drafts of his papers and to Arcadian Press for an advance copy of Boogert's wonderful *Aleppo observed*.

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Part I Setting the scene

Chapter 1

Introducing the Research Project

1.0 Introduction

This chapter will introduce the topic, research problem and purpose of this thesis, in order to establish a justifiable need for this investigation. A brief introduction will outline its research remit. This will be followed by a literature review and a summary of the structure of this thesis.

1.1 Research Remit

No previous critical examination seems to have been made of the two editions of an account of the city of Aleppo entitled *The Natural History of Aleppo*,¹ by Alexander Russell MD, FRS, LRCP (1714–1768) and published in 1756; and the second edition, published in 1794, which was edited and substantially rewritten by Alexander's half-brother, the physician and naturalist, Patrick Russell MD FRS (1726/7–1805). These editions will be selected as case studies to assess the quality of two eighteenth-century texts. This will include an analysis of the structure and content of the two editions, one published at the height of the Enlightenment² and the other towards the end of this intellectual movement. This thesis will assess why/if they were popular in the eighteenth century and what critics wrote about them at the

¹ Alexander Russell, *The natural history of Aleppo, and parts adjacent, containing a description of the city and the natural productions in its neighbourhood* (London: Andrew Millar, 1856 [1756]). Incorrectly marked as 1856 instead of 1756; idem, *The natural history of Aleppo, containing a description of the city, and the principal natural productions in its neighbourhood*. Second edition, revised, enlarged and illustrated with notes by [his half-brother] P[atrack] Russell, 2 vols (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1794). Hereinafter the two editions are termed *Aleppo*, the first edition *Aleppo*¹ and the second edition *Aleppo*².

² Enlightenment: 'a European intellectual movement of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries emphasizing reason and individualism rather than tradition' (*Oxford Dictionary of English* (Oxford; Oxford University Press, 2010), hereinafter ODE).

time they were published. It will provide examples of subject areas covered in the texts to illuminate the comparative study and the range of bibliographic authorities used to support the authors' observations in the field. It will also trace why such recognition subsequently declined; and will discuss why the editions are still of interest to contemporary scholars.

The primary focus will be on re-establishing academic interest in high-quality if complex texts written about the Middle East in the eighteenth-century genre of natural history.³ This will be a history about the Russells, about the way they wrote about the city of Aleppo and what sources they used. It will also explore changing literary traditions between 1756 and 1794. It will reflect on advances in medicine and revolutions in the study of natural history during the period. By exploring a 'natural history' of the eighteenth century the formal boundaries between what are usually considered distinct genres nowadays can be questioned. A corollary of this discussion will be to support the suggestion that not only travel writing but also scientific subjects, especially the genres of 'natural history' and medicine, should be considered integral to the Scottish Enlightenment⁴ — thus establishing an additional reason for revitalization of such texts. In general, this thesis will aim to correct modern misconceptions about eighteenth-century scholarship on the Levant⁵ and through informed discussion will explore aspects of the text that might be developed into future research projects.

In order to reflect on the quality of scholarship of the two half-brothers, this thesis will provide an indication of the range of bibliographic authorities, including those in classical, Arabic, English and other European languages, on the ways of life, culture, and religions of Aleppo that were then available to its authors and were part of Anglo-European intellectual history on the Levant. This thesis will make an original contribution by exploring the use of Arabic sources and the search for

³ In this thesis, the term 'natural history' is used to refer to the eighteenth-century genre of natural history, similar to a modern definition: 'the study of the whole natural world' (ODE). To avoid confusion, the phrase 'flora and fauna' will be used to mean 'the scientific study of animals or plants, especially as concerned with observation rather than experiment, and presented in popular form' (ODE).

⁴ There is no consensus about the meaning of the term 'Scottish Enlightenment', nor when it began and ended.

⁵ Levant: 'the eastern part of the Mediterranean with its islands and neighbouring countries' (ODE); used many times in *Aleppo*².

authentic Oriental manuscripts by scholars during the eighteenth century. As many of these items are no longer well known or readily available, a list of authorities used in *Aleppo* and so far identified, will be provided in the bibliography. The present study is an attempt to make a small contribution to available knowledge.

The chronological reach of this thesis will focus on the eighteenth century and until Patrick's death in 1805 but it will also include a range of other authorities on the Levant, dating from classical times, as used by the authors. Whenever possible, in order to avoid any confusion and to help identify which of the individuals the Russells might have known personally, relevant dates of the lives of people mentioned in this thesis will be provided. All dates given in this thesis will be those of the Christian calendar, unless otherwise specified.

Its geographical remit will focus on the cosmopolitan city of Aleppo in northern Syria which was then an important commercial city in the Ottoman empire. However, through a study of the Russells and their works, this thesis will also link Aleppo with other major cosmopolitan cities: Edinburgh, a major Scottish city during the Scottish Enlightenment, the sophisticated and rapidly expanding London — and even the Carnatic region in southern India during the 1780s.

This thesis will rely on a limited number of reliable sources with particular focus on the texts of the two editions themselves. The information from the two editions of *Aleppo* will be contextualized and supplemented from a range of other written media: travelogues, medical texts, merchants' and traveller's letters, administrative documents and other articles written by the Russells themselves. In addition, whilst it would be useful to compile extensive footnotes about interrelated topics mentioned in *Aleppo*, such as Islamic medicine, it would be impossible to do justice to all the relevant literature. However, where relevant, the most reliable and recent bibliographic references will be provided to substantiate the information provided in this thesis. The transliteration of Arabic and Persian words will be that used for *The Proceedings for the Seminar for Arabian Studies* (www.thebfsa.org/). The correctly transliterated Arabic or Persian form will be provided alongside any terms used by the Russells.

From this preliminary outline, it is evident that little previous research has been undertaken on *Aleppo*, apart from *Aleppo observed*, and that there appears to be nothing else of any substance dedicated to the lives of the Russells, therefore this thesis is timely in order to stimulate interest on these subjects. The paucity of existing studies, though irritating for any researcher, might even enhance the value of the current research project. Therefore, to reinvigorate the study of *Aleppo*, this thesis will examine who wrote it, how the two editions might relate to each other and what were the intellectual influences on the Russells' various works. It will also consider the following issue. Each brother may have provided a different, continuing or embellished image of the city — one that orientated itself around the individual author. Some of these issues will be discussed in Part II and will be illustrated in a range of case studies in Part III. The general aim will be to provide a detailed study that will also be intriguing, intimate, thorough and original — and not too inaccurate!

1.1.1 Selection of *Aleppo* as the case study

A particularly fascinating eighteenth-century classic, *The natural history of Aleppo, and parts adjacent, containing a description of the city...* by Alexander was published in 1756, and *The natural history of Aleppo, containing a description of the city ...* edited by his half-brother Patrick, published in 1794, will be selected as the case study to help re-establish the importance of such eighteenth-century Orientalist works in Middle Eastern studies. In *Aleppo*, the Russells were concerned to record, order and observe Aleppo as objectively as possible. *Aleppo* owed its origin to a suggestion by a lifelong friend, plant collector and Quaker, John Fothergill MD, FRS, LRCP (1712–1780), a famous physician with probably the largest practice in London. Fothergill noted in his eulogy to Alexander that the latter had ‘viewed the proposal in the same light, collected materials, made suitable enquiries, and has erected a lasting and honourable monument to his memory’.

There was an eccentric reason why *Aleppo* was selected as the subject of this thesis. I discovered a copy of extracts of *Aleppo* in an attic when arranging to transfer a donation of many Oriental board games belonging to the Canadian plastic surgeon, Robert Charles Bell (1917–2002), from his house in Jesmond, Newcastle, to the Oriental Museum in Durham. Ever since this fortunate find, I have been delighted by

the quality of the work. It appeared to be a straightforward narrative, based on careful, sensitive observation but I was curious to discover why there had been very little written about the authors or the text of the two full editions.

1.1.2 The authors of *Aleppo*

Critically, it is astonishing that there has been no study dedicated to the Scottish physicians, the half-brothers, Alexander and Patrick,⁶ apart from Part I of *Aleppo observed*. Very briefly, Alexander's professional career included time in Aleppo (1740–1752) and London (1753–1768), whilst Patrick's professional career had four phases: Aleppo (1750–1771), London (1772–1781), India (1781–1789) and in London again (1789–1805). The Russells were medical practitioners working for the Levant Company⁷ at its commercial base or 'factory'⁸ in Aleppo, now in northern Syria.⁹ According to merchants who lived in Aleppo, they were 'of a great deal of humour': whilst Alexander bore some resemblance to his brother William Russell FRS (1713–1787), 'Will',¹⁰ who became Secretary to the Levant Company in London. Patrick, apparently, somewhat resembled 'the noted apothecary in *Romeo and Juliet*, which has given occasion to the name of shadow.'¹¹ Their lives will be described in more detail in the second chapter of this thesis.

In the nearly two hundred and fifty years since *Aleppo*¹ was published, there have only been a handful of articles about the Russells. Some information was provided in various eulogies.¹² There were in brief biographies in *ODNB*,¹³ brief

⁶ Abbreviated to 'Al.' or 'Alex.' in some sources, 'Pat.' or 'P.R.', by Patrick himself. Hereinafter, 'Alexander' and 'Patrick'.

⁷ Patrick used 'Levant Company', 'Levant Company (in Turkey)' and 'the Turkey Company' in *Aleppo*² for 'the Company of Merchants of England trading to the Seas of the Levant'.

⁸ 'Factory': 'an establishment for traders carrying on business in a foreign country' (ODE). Its merchants were called 'factors', that is, agents 'who buy and sells goods on commission' (ODE)

⁹ The Levant Company had factories in Constantinople, Smyrna (now Izmir) and Sanderoon (*aka* Alexandretta; Arabic: al-Iskandarūn; Turkish: İskenderun) and other ports on the Aegean coast of Turkey, Alexandria in Egypt, and Aleppo.

[www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List_of_British_Consular_Officials_Turkey\(1581-1860\)-D_Wilson.pdf](http://www.levantineheritage.com/pdf/List_of_British_Consular_Officials_Turkey(1581-1860)-D_Wilson.pdf).

¹⁰ Hereinafter 'William'.

¹¹ SP 110/7, in Gwilym Ambrose, 'English traders at Aleppo (1658–1756)', *Economic History Review* 3/2 (1931), 246–67 (267).

¹² John Fothergill, *An essay on the character of the late Alexander Russell, MD, FRS* (London: [s.n.], 1770).

¹³ G.S. Boulger, 'Russell, Alexander (1714–1768)', *ODNB*; idem, 'Russell, Patrick (1727–1805)', *ODNB*.

articles on specialist medical subjects which use *Aleppo* as a source for a specific topic;¹⁴ on Patrick's studies of flora and fauna in India;¹⁵ and short articles in popular journals;¹⁶ and most recently, in the first part of *Aleppo observed*. Almost anything written about *Aleppo* between about the 1820s and the 2000s gave Alexander as the sole author. Only three articles, published after the beginning of the nineteenth century, effectively identified Patrick's separate identity in crafting *Aleppo*.¹⁷ The Russells' participation in the intellectual heritage of the Scottish Enlightenment, in medicine, natural sciences, literature and Middle Eastern studies in general, has been disregarded.

1.1.3 The city of Aleppo as the subject of *Aleppo*

This thesis will be about who wrote and what was written about *Aleppo* rather than a study of the city in northern Syria itself. Given the size and importance of Aleppo (Arabic: حلب, Ḥalab, Turkish: Halep, Βέροια), in the eighteenth century, little substantial has yet been written about the city. A brief description of the city of Aleppo here will show its historical importance before relevant publications are identified.

Surrounded by desert and mountains, Aleppo was founded in the fourteenth century BC and was later closely associated with the Kurdish warrior, Ṣalāḥ al-dīn (d.1193). The town was incorporated into the Ottoman empire in 1516 and was the chief town of a Turkish *vilayat* from 1517. It was an immensely appealing and cosmopolitan city with a dynamic emporium and diverse trading environment.¹⁸

¹⁴ A.P. Gelpi, 'Alexander Russell and the Aleppo ulcer', *International Journal of Dermatology* 26/2 (1987), 131–4; Barbara J. Hawgood, 'Alexander Russell (1715–1768) and Patrick Russell (1727–1805)', *Journal of Medical Biography* 9/1 (2001), 1–6.

¹⁵ Ian Charleson Hedge, 'Russell, Patrick, 1727–1805 – Biography', *Edinburgh's Indian botanical connections and collections*, extracted from the *Bulletin of the Botanical Survey of India* 29/1–4 (1987), 272–85; Barbara J. Hawgood, 'The life and viper of Dr Patrick Russell MD FRS (1727–1805)', *Toxicon* 32/11 (1994), 1295–1304; R.L. Jayakody, 'Russell of Russell's Viper fame', *The Ceylon Medical Journal* 46/2 (2001), 39–40.

¹⁶ John M. Munro, 'The Russells of Aleppo', *Saudi Aramco Magazine* 33/1 (1982), 28–32.

¹⁷ Janet Starkey, 'Mercantile gentlemen and inquisitive travellers, in Charles Foster (ed.), *Travellers in the Levant* (London: Stacey, 2003), 29–71; Maurits H. van den Boogert, 'Patrick Russell and the Republic of Letters in Aleppo', in Alistair Hamilton, Boogert & Bart Westerweel (eds), *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 223–64, especially on Patrick as a collector of manuscripts. Note: Maurits H. van den Boogert, hereinafter, Boogert.

¹⁸ Janet Starkey, 'Cosmopolitan cities and cultural integration?', *Chronos* 15 (2007), 131–50; James Mather, *Pashas* (Haven: Yale University Press, 2009: repr. 2011). Appendix 1, Figure 15, below.

According to Alexander and Patrick's figures, Aleppo was the third largest metropolis in the region in the eighteenth century.¹⁹ It remained prosperous until the end of the eighteenth century, trading along the Silk Route to Persia and beyond to India,²⁰ to the ports along the Mediterranean, with the Anatolian and other parts of the Ottoman empire to the north and with Palestine and Egypt to the south. Government officials, military personnel, pilgrims to Mecca and Jerusalem,²¹ as well as local villagers in the *Pashalik*,²² visited the city for commercial, administrative and/or religious reasons. The Greek concept of *polis* and the Roman *civis* still haunted eighteenth-century Aleppo.²³

Small communities of European merchants, especially from Britain, France, the Netherlands and Italy were based in the city as were Greeks, Armenians, Persians and Egyptian traders. Bedouin, Turkmen and other tribesmen were camel drivers on great caravans crossing the Arabian and Syria Deserts, and herders of sheep and goats from local villages. Kurds lived to the north; Turkmen wintered in the ʿAmq plain. In *Aleppo*, the city's various ethnic groups, the domestic manners of the inhabitants of the city, its gardens, coffee-houses, government and commerce, are meticulously described. Like Patrick, a seventeenth- and eighteenth-century range of travel literature will be used in this thesis, as they were in *Aleppo*², to provide useful comparative data. Many of these travelogues are discussed in detail in Part II and there are several excellent twentieth-century reprints of travellers' journals available

¹⁹ Boogert, *Aleppo observed* (Oxford: The Arcadian Library/Oxford University Press, 2010), 185, on population statistics. Hereinafter, *Aleppo observed*.

²⁰ Alfred C. Wood, *A history of the Levant Company* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935). The route was superseded when goods were transported by the Honourable East India Company (hereinafter, EIC) via the Cape of Good Hope, partly as a result of local wars, instead of the overland route.

²¹ *Aleppo*², i, 199.

²² *Pashalik* (Turkish: *paşalık*, *Eyalet*): primary administrative division of the Ottoman empire; area governed a Pasha. Pasha = Basha/Bashaw, Turkish: *paşa*: A title granted to governors and other dignitaries. There were three ranks: the highest could bear a standard of three horse-tails, the second, two tails, and the third, one.

²³ *Cosmopolis* (ancient Greek, plural: *cosmopoleis*, 'universe city'), from the Greek 'polis' based in the idea of city-states (Starkey, 'Cosmopolitan cities').

to modern readers,²⁴ including a compilation on travellers from Aleppo who travelled on the desert route to or from India.²⁵

1.2 Literature review

1.2.1 Previous work on *Aleppo*

This section will outline what has been written about the two editions of *Aleppo* and comment on authors who have used *Aleppo* as a primary source. I am indebted to previous scholarship that has helped to inform the aims of this thesis.

Until 2012, there has been nothing substantial written about *Aleppo*, the Russells' magnificent, eighteenth-century study of a northern Syrian city, since it appeared in its first edition (1756) or in its second (1794).²⁶ The main commentaries about *Aleppo* are found in reviews that immediately post-dated the publication of the two editions. Published in contemporary periodicals in the eighteenth century, many of them with additional political or personal agendas, these reviews reached a wide audience of potential readers at the time. These will be analysed in more detail in Part II of this thesis for they provide remarkable insights and useful avenues of research.

Aleppo appeared to have gone out of fashion by the middle of the nineteenth century perhaps because of the complexity of its text. This is particularly extraordinary as it became almost obligatory for the reading public and traders travelling to the Ottoman empire in the mid-eighteenth century.²⁷ Nevertheless, over the last two and a half centuries, *Aleppo* has been used as a primary authority by several authors. It might be useful to outline some of these important studies. For example, the great historian, Albert Hourani (1915–1993), in his last book and international best-seller *History of the Arab Peoples*, published in 1991,²⁸ in which

²⁴ 'modern reader': someone reading a text in the twenty-first century. As a point of definition throughout this study, the 'reader' does not mean the 'reader of this thesis' but is a literary term which is used to mean 'the reader of *Aleppo*' (or any other text under discussion).

²⁵ Douglas Carruthers (ed.), *The desert route to India* (London: Hakluyt, 1928).

²⁶ *Aleppo observed*.

²⁷ *Aleppo observed*, 231–2.

²⁸ John Rodenbeck, 'Edward Said and Edward William Lane', in Janet and Paul Starkey (eds), *Travellers in Egypt* (London: IB Tauris, 2001), 233–42 (234); Albert Hourani, *A history of the Arab peoples* (London: Faber and Faber, 1991), 516; Jennifer Schacker-Mill, 'Otherness and otherworldliness', *Journal of American Folklore* 113/448 (2000), 164–84.

Aleppo is listed in his general bibliography for Chapter 15, ‘The changing balance of power in the eighteenth century’. Others include a few excellent studies about the city’s architecture, notably *Alep* by the French literary archaeologist Jean Sauvaget (d.1950),²⁹ Gaube and Wirth’s *Aleppo, Historische und geographische Beiträge zur baulichen Gestaltung*³⁰ and Watenpaugh’s *The Image of an Ottoman city*.³¹ These and other relevant earlier architectural and town-planning studies have been described in a chapter entitled ‘Khan al-Jumruk within the bazaars of Aleppo’,³² published in September 2012, that explores theoretical aspects of architectural and continuation of social space in Old Aleppo³³ from the time the *khān*³⁴ was built in 1574 to the early summer of 2012. ‘Khan al-Jumruk’ outlines the history, many-faceted spatial relationships and synergy between the Khan al-Jumruk (‘Customs’ Khan’, Gümrük Hani), where the Russells worked for many years, and the surrounding bazaars.

Aleppo has been used as a primary source by anthropologists and social historians: some more effectively than others. Although the American sociologist Janet Abu-Lughod (b.1928) did not specifically mention *Aleppo*, nevertheless, in 1987 she drew on Sauvaget’s classic model of a traditional ‘Islamic city’ that he promoted in *Alep* (amongst many other descriptions of cities in the Middle East and North Africa) to provide evidence of what is now considered to be her own somewhat outdated model of an ‘Islamic city’.³⁵ In the light of *Aleppo*, Abu-Lughod’s model of an Islamic city’ was subsequently critically examined in an article published in 2002 entitled ‘No myopic mirage’.³⁶ The classic study *La Ville*

²⁹ Jean Sauvaget, *Alèp*, 2 volumes (Paris: Geuthner, 1941).

³⁰ Heinz Gaube and Eugen Wirth, *Aleppo* (Wiesbaden: L. Reichert, 1984).

³¹ Heghnar Zeitlian Watenpaugh, *The image of an Ottoman city* (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

³² Janet Starkey, ‘The continuity of social space: the Khan al-Jumruk within the bazaars of Aleppo’, fourth chapter in Mohammad Gharipour (ed.), *The Bazaar and the City* (Cairo: American University in Cairo, with London: Oxford University Press 2012). Appendix 1, Figures 16–18, below.

³³ Old Aleppo: the central, walled, commercial centre of the metropolis of Aleppo.

³⁴ *khān*: Arabic from Persian, caravanserai, inn with large courtyard to accommodate caravans, commercial depot. Turkish: *han*.

³⁵ J. Abu-Lughod, ‘The Islamic city’, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 19 (1987), 155–76.

³⁶ Janet Starkey, ‘No myopic mirage’, *History and Anthropology* 13/4 (2002), 253–6.

*arabe, Alep, à l'époque ottomane (XVIe-XVIIIe siècles)*³⁷ by André Raymond (1925–2011) included socio-political and geographical detail from *Aleppo*.

More substantially, in 1999 Margaret Meriwether published a precise and excellent history of families in Aleppo, using local records, *Aleppo* and other sources.³⁸ Basing her analysis on that of Lawrence Stone,³⁹ Meriwether described a hierarchy of spaces in cosmopolitan Aleppo, where residence patterns symbolized localized collective identities. Other anthropologists have mentioned *Aleppo*, including Annika Rabo in a delightful study of traders in Old Aleppo, *A shop of one's own* (2005). She described *Aleppo* as 'a wonderful eyewitness account of the city and its customs written by a curious, enlightened and scientifically-minded observer'.⁴⁰ More sombrely, but no less usefully, a paper in the journal *Mortality* published in 2009, on death and Paradise, used *Aleppo* amongst other authorities.⁴¹

Several twentieth-century accounts of the history of the Levant Company in Aleppo used *Aleppo* as a primary source. These included two detailed studies by Ralph Davis⁴² and Alfred C. Wood.⁴³ In 2010 Christine Laidlaw provided a delightful vignette of the life of officials of the Levant Company in Constantinople, Smyrna and Aleppo,⁴⁴ based on its extant records, official letter-books and minute-books from the company's factories; especially those of John Murray, ambassador to the Porte from 1765 to his death in 1775. Laidlaw's second chapter focused on the commercial environment in which the Russells worked with the Levant Company in Aleppo. Disappointingly, *Pashas*, by James Mather,⁴⁵ the first substantial and elegant study of the Levant Company since 1935, only briefly mentioned *Aleppo*. However, the most outstanding authority on the society and culture of eighteenth-century Aleppo that has yet been published was Abraham Marcus's *The Middle East on the*

³⁷ Damascus: Institut français de Damas, 1998.

³⁸ Margaret L. Meriwether, *The kin who count* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1999), 1–2.

³⁹ Lawrence Stone, 'Family history in the 1980s', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12 (1981), 51–87 (82).

⁴⁰ Annika Rabo, *A shop of one's own* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 176.

⁴¹ Janet Starkey, 'Death, paradise and the *Arabian Nights*', *Mortality* 14/3 (2009), 286–302;

⁴² Ralph Davis, *Aleppo and Devonshire Square* (London: Macmillan, 1967), mentioned *Aleppo* on five occasions.

⁴³ Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, cited *Aleppo* on eight occasions.

⁴⁴ Christine Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant* (London: IB Tauris, 2010).

⁴⁵ Mather, *Pashas*.

Eve of Modernity; Aleppo in the Eighteenth Century.⁴⁶ The study, published in 1989, was based on court archives from Aleppo, backed up with observations from *Aleppo* and various other Arabic sources and is internationally recognized as an authoritative work. In this fascinating and rigorously scholarly account of everyday life in Aleppo, Marcus portrayed a dynamic and adaptable society in which traditional values also remained important.

There are several useful authorities on the history of medicine in the Middle East which provide useful background but almost all of them focused on a period before the eighteenth century though some did mention *Aleppo* or the Russells. Apart from Elgood's classic works on Safavid medical practice,⁴⁷ and on medicine in Persia⁴⁸ that mentioned a 'Dr Russell', there was an outstanding survey by Peter E. Pormann and Émilie Savage-Smith on *Medieval Islamic medicine* which described *Aleppo* as 'a particularly interesting account of the medical care in Syria'⁴⁹ and included a long quotation in which Alexander decried the poor state of medicine there.⁵⁰ This was a worthy successor to the great German grammarian and expert on medicine, Manfred Ullmann, who published *Islamic Medicine* in 1978, a definitive study of the scientific heritage in Europe of Islamic medicine, especially between 1200 and 1600. However, at one point, Ullmann used medical descriptions from *Aleppo* to illustrate medieval medical knowledge and practice: 'the situation throughout the Middle Ages was probably similar to that which obtained in Aleppo in the eighteenth century, and about which we possess an excellent and detailed account by Alexander.'⁵¹ Such extrapolation is probably inappropriate. It is surprising that Ullmann should have assumed that medical attitudes and practices continued from medieval times into eighteenth century in Aleppo — or that

⁴⁶ Abraham Marcus, *The Middle East on the eve of modernity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989).

⁴⁷ Cyril Elgood, *Safavid medical practice* (London: Luzac, 1970).

⁴⁸ Cyril Elgood, *A medical history of Persia and the Eastern Caliphate* (1951; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁴⁹ Peter E. Pormann and Emilie Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic medicine* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 172.

⁵⁰ Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic medicine*, 172, quoting *Aleppo*¹, 5, 99, 194.

⁵¹ Manfred Ullmann, *Islamic medicine* (1978; Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 49–50.

eighteenth-century models could be projected back in time.⁵² However, in future, at least two detailed comparisons on medical matters of the Middle East using these authorities and *Aleppo*, in combination with Arabic and Persian treatises, might make useful projects. They would provide many fascinating parallels and interconnections as well as differences: first, comparing medicine in Persia with that described in *Aleppo* and, secondly, comparing medieval and eighteenth-century medicine in the Levant.

This brief overview of the limited number of earlier publications about Aleppo, the Russell family and on the text of *Aleppo* has demonstrated the need for further research in order to discover more about these topics. Fortunately, in 2010, the first substantial and beautiful overview or survey of *Aleppo* by Maurits van den Boogert, entitled *Aleppo observed*, was published. Previously not a single monograph on the text or its authors had ever appeared, though it assimilated much of the information that had already been published by Boogert in a series of excellent articles, all of which explore some facet of life in the Ottoman empire in the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries.⁵³

Given the pioneering relevance of *Aleppo observed*, it might be useful here to discuss the organization of its chapters and to reflect on how this differed from the approach of this thesis. It was a delight to study this well researched, first full-length survey of the Russells and their work. It provided an excellent overview of the content and importance of the Russells' editions, and established a baseline of thoroughly researched data. There was an excellent introduction in *Aleppo observed* that located *Aleppo* within the corpus of other travel writings, defined the genre of 'natural history', described European associations with the city of Aleppo, and introduced *Aleppo* and its authors, with individual chapters about Alexander and Patrick. Although much was already in the public domain, some interesting details were included, such as the name of Alexander's wife (Mary), information about William's early career on board a cargo ship, or the network of Freemasons, a

⁵² David R Blanks and Michael Frassetto (eds), 'Introduction', *Western views of Islam in medieval and early modern Europe* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 1–8.

⁵³ Boogert, 'Antar Overseas', in Arnoud Vrolijk, J.P. Hogendijk, Remke Kruk (eds), *O ye Gentlemen* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 339–52, amongst other articles.

cosmopolitan brotherhood, established by the family friend and later consul of Aleppo, Alexander Drummond (d.1769) in Cyprus and elsewhere.⁵⁴

In the second Part of *Aleppo observed*, various topics about the city of Aleppo as described by the Russells in *Aleppo* were outlined. Its arrangement was somewhat eclectic. Information gleaned from *Aleppo* was used to provide an account of the city's administration and about Westerners living in northern Syria. It introduced the delights of cosmopolitan Aleppo, and provided useful preliminary information. There was data on its population numbers and birth rates (for the Russells were keen on statistical analyses), religious groups, marriage and childbirth and chapters on natural history, medicine, Ottoman society and Arab culture. Deciding on the best arrangement for the contents of the 2010 publication would not have been easy. For example, some of the information about flora and fauna could have become part of a *medica materia* section in his fifth chapter on medicine. Likewise, it might have been tempting to move the section on administration in his third chapter to his sixth, about 'Ottoman Society and Arab culture'. Although such issues must have been inevitably difficult to reconcile, consideration of these alerted me to the difficulties of structuring this thesis. In summary, *Aleppo observed* provided an essential introductory survey to *Aleppo* on which to build a more detailed and analytical study.

By reading *Aleppo observed*, it was a pleasure to find many discoveries confirmed, and to find new snippets of information. It also provided a base line from which different perspectives could be discovered. The original intention of this thesis was to reintroduce *Aleppo* and the Russells into the modern academic arena and, on that basis, relevant research continued for several years. This research was undertaken with much of the same thrill of discovery as Boogert experienced but he published his *Aleppo observed* just after what was supposed to be the penultimate draft of this thesis had been written and the framework of this thesis was inevitably too similar to that of *Aleppo observed*. Therefore, from September 2011, the research

⁵⁴ Alexander Drummond, *Travels through different cities of Germany, Italy, Greece, and several parts of Asia as far as the banks of the Euphrates* (London: W. Strachan, 1754). Boogert, 'Freemasonry in Ottoman Izmir', in Boogert (ed.), *Ottoman Izmir* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007), 103–21.

was redirected towards a substantial assessment of the two editions of *Aleppo*, not to be found in *Aleppo observed*.

A comparative study that will assess the potential value of the two editions of *Aleppo* and re-establish, if necessary, their places in mainstream Middle Eastern scholarship, will be the main purpose of this thesis. *Aleppo* can be considered to be an important primary authority and it provided an excellent case study that can be used to revitalise eighteenth-century texts on the Levant. Whilst *Aleppo observed* provided an essential introduction or overview of the content of *Aleppo*, it did not offer much in the way of direct comparison between the two editions of *Aleppo*, so a systematic study of the relationships between the two editions (1756 and 1794) should provide fascinating literary and historical insights. Information now in the public domain has been verified; various aspects were explored in more depth; and minor details adjusted or corrected in this timely study. For example, some of the topics discussed in *Aleppo observed*, such as music, popular culture, the acquisition of Arabic manuscripts and the impact in Europe, natural history, medicine, will be investigated in this thesis in the light of the two editions of *Aleppo*. In addition, the bibliographic sources used to construct the two editions, and especially employed in *Aleppo*² were not discussed in any significant detail or consistent way in *Aleppo observed* but will be a topic considered in more depth in this thesis.

1.2.2 Studies about *Aleppo*. Contextualising the research project

This thesis aims to encourage a relative revival of interest in the two editions of *Aleppo* and its authors, in the twenty-first century. Part of the reason for different attitudes to these editions lies in the changing nature of intellectual scholarship over the last 250 years and these will be outlined in this thesis.

In a relevant review article in the *Times Literary Supplement*,⁵⁵ Robert Irwin pointed out that eighteenth-century travel writing on the Middle East, and *Aleppo*, in particular, had been denigrated by recent scholars. As a result, Irwin threw down the challenge for researchers to revive interest in such texts. He then proceeded to publish *For Lust of Knowing* in 2006, an enjoyable, immensely readable and

⁵⁵ Robert Irwin, 'Life! Life! Dress, looting and delight in the desert', *Times Literary Supplement* 5130 (27 July 2001), 3–6.

enthraling history of Oriental scholarship and again urged more appreciation for such learning.⁵⁶ His aim was to restore reputations and rediscover past scholars who might contribute to our understanding of the Orient; besides, many of these were authorities cited in *Aleppo*.

As an additional agenda for *Lust of knowing*, Irwin contested the hypothesis in the seminal work *Orientalism*⁵⁷ by Edward W. Said (1935–2003) that Orientalist studies were always associated with issues of empowerment. Furthermore, it is worth noting that Said harshly criticized Edward W. Lane (1801–1876) who wrote *The Manners and Customs of modern Egypt*.⁵⁸ Said labelled Lane a ‘minor belle-lettrist’,⁵⁹ a typical ‘scientific-impersonal Orientalist’.⁶⁰ ‘while [Edward] Lane dallies in his preface with a Dr Russell’s account of the people of Aleppo (a forgotten work), it is obvious that the *Description de l’Égypte* was his main antecedent competition.’⁶¹ In fact, Lane acknowledged *Aleppo* as a useful model for his own work and continued the Russells’ fine tradition of exquisite recording and fine detailed observations of social environments and customs. Lane mentioned that the English reader’s knowledge of the Levant in the eighteenth century was primarily based on *Aleppo*:

It may be said, that the English reader already possesses an excellent and ample description of Arab manners and customs, in Dr. Russell’s account of the people of Aleppo. I will not forfeit my own claim to the reputation of an honest writer, by attempting to detract from the just merits of that valuable and interesting work; but must assert, that it is, upon the whole, rather an account of Turkish than of Arab manners.⁶²

Said’s criticism of Lane thus extends to Alexander and Patrick Russell. John Rodenbeck pointed out Said’s ‘denunciation ignores altogether the one issue that is

⁵⁶ Robert Irwin, *For Lust of Knowing* (London: Allen Lane, 2006; London: Penguin, 2007); cf. idem, *Dangerous Knowledge* (New York: Overlook Press, 2006). Many of the authors and translators embedded in *Aleppo* are discussed by Irwin but others, surprisingly, are not included (Samuel Bochart, Reverend Henry Maundrell, Joseph Pitt, Richard Pococke etc.).

⁵⁷ Edward Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978).

⁵⁸ Edward W. Lane, ‘Preface’, *An Account of the manners and customs of the Modern Egyptians*, 2 vols (London: Charles Knight, 1836), i, x.

⁵⁹ *Belletrist*, an author of *belles-lettres*: ‘essays, particularly on literary and artistic criticism, written and read primarily for their aesthetic effect’ (ODE).

⁶⁰ Said, *Orientalism*, 15.

⁶¹ Said, *Orientalism*, 159–60. The vast *Description de l’Égypte*, published in thirty-seven books between 1809 and 1829, by many savants and artists, offered a comprehensive scientific description and natural history of ancient and modern Egypt.

⁶² Lane, *Manners and customs*, i, x.

fundamental in judging any ethnographic text', that is, 'was what Lane [or any other ethnographer] wrote really true at the time he wrote it?'⁶³ As Irwin concluded:

had Said actually bothered to look at *The Natural History of Aleppo*, he would have discovered that it provided the perfect model for Lane's *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*. The second chapter, which is extremely long, covers matters such as population, language, dress, consumption of coffee and tobacco, eating habits, religious ceremonies, family life, entertainments and funerary rites — all the sorts of things that Lane's book later covered. There was no reason why Lane, a remarkably pious and earnest character, should have sought to conceal the chief source of his inspiration, and it is sad to find Said's disparaging Russell's achievement and questioning Lane's integrity in order to prop up what is essentially a false genealogy of Orientalism.⁶⁴

By the mid-nineteenth century, Lane's *Manners and Customs* had replaced *Aleppo* as the most influential work on the Middle East.

Rana Kabbani, a Syrian poet interested in Western imaging of the sexuality of the Orient and its imperialist designs, felt that a mental barrier developed between the Christian Occident and the Muslim Orient that was reinforced by a lack of understanding so that 'Islam continued to be regarded with suspicion and distaste'⁶⁵ in eighteenth-century Christian Europe. Kabbani identified several major authors who influenced the West's image of an exotic Orient as it was depicted in travel books and Orientalist painting, as a grand harem that fuelled romantic imaginations of the nineteenth century.⁶⁶ Kabbani was particularly harsh towards Antoine Galland (1646–1715),⁶⁷ who completed *Bibliothèque orientale*⁶⁸ after his associate, d'Herbelot (1625–1695) died — and also translated *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*.⁶⁹ However, she provided a useful brief portrait of Alexander, presenting him in a favourable light, as an empathetic and believable travel writer. In *Enlightened Observers*,⁷⁰ Anita Damiani, who was also influenced by *Orientalism*, provided insights about four 'enlightened observers'. One was Alexander who, according to Damiani, 'at all times he attempted to discuss systematically and

⁶³ Rodenbeck, 'Edward Said', 233.

⁶⁴ Irwin, 'Life! Life!', 6.

⁶⁵ Rana Kabbani, *Myths of Orient* (London: Pandora, 1986), 14.

⁶⁶ Kabbani, *Myths of Orient*, 29.

⁶⁷ Irwin, *Lust of Knowing*, 105, 114–6.

⁶⁸ Bartholomé d'Herbelot, de Molainville, *Bibliothèque orientale*, continued by Claude de Visdelou and Antoine Galland (1697; Maastricht: Jean Edme Dufour and Philippe Roux, 1776, 1780).

D'Herbelot is not cited in *Aleppo*¹, but twenty-seven times in *Aleppo*².

⁶⁹ Antoine Galland (transl.), *Les mille et une nuit*, 12 vols (La Haye: Pierre Husson, 1704–1728).

⁷⁰ Anita Damiani, *Enlightened observers* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1976).

thoroughly every aspect of life in the East',⁷¹ acquainting 'the reader with the main features of an oriental city'⁷² with a frankness seldom to be found in other travel narratives.

There must have been a period before France's occupation of Egypt (1798–1801), when East-West power relationships in the Ottoman empire were more or less in equilibrium.⁷³ Furthermore, 'because of the power of Enlightenment pens, Europe itself was self-critical', free from bigotry, 'to be able to confront other cultures ... at least as alternative versions'.⁷⁴ Furthermore, Humphreys considered the debate about Said's imperialist and idealist model of Orientalism was now a 'very dead horse', little more than a 'term of abuse of scholarship that one dislikes'.⁷⁵ Said's motif will not be not the focus of this thesis which has moved forward and left the Saidian Orientalist debate in the twentieth century.

Whilst affirming that there will be much of value to be discovered by re-examining eighteenth-century accounts of the Middle East as Irwin has suggested, it will be relevant to this thesis to define what is meant by the term 'Orientalism' as it was employed in the eighteenth century and in this thesis. An 'Orientalist' of the eighteenth-century and earlier was a scholar who had made a special study of Asian and/or North African languages and cultures.⁷⁶ In his *Dictionary* published in 1755,⁷⁷ Dr Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) did not include the word 'Orientalist' but defined 'Orientalism' as 'an idiom of the eastern languages; an eastern mode of speech'; an 'Oriental' as 'an inhabitant from eastern parts of the world'; and the 'Orient' as (1) 'rising as the sun'; (2) 'eastern'; and (delightfully) as (3) 'bright; shining; glittering; gaudy; sparkling'. None of these terms (Orientalism, Orientalist, or even Orient or Oriental) are found in *Aleppo*¹; nor did Patrick use the term 'Orientalism'. In fact,

⁷¹ Damiani, *Enlightened observers*, 56.

⁷² Damiani, *Enlightened observers*, 139.

⁷³ G. MacLean, 'Ottomanism before Orientalism?', in I. Kamps and J.G. Singh (eds), *Travel knowledge* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), 75–97.

⁷⁴ G.S. Rousseau and Roy Porter (eds), *Exoticism in the Enlightenment* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

⁷⁵ R. Stephen Humphreys, 'The Historiography of the modern Middle East', *Middle East Historiographies*, eds Israel Gershoni, Amy Singer and Y. Hakan Erdem (Seattle, Wa: University of Washington Press, 2006), 19–38 (31).

⁷⁶ Irwin, *Lust of knowing*, 6.

⁷⁷ Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language* 2 vols (London: W. Strahan, 1755–1756), 1433.

Patrick only used ‘Orientalist’⁷⁸ once: ‘It may here be proper to deprecate the severity of the Orientalist’ — for typographic errors;⁷⁹ and ‘Oriental’ on twenty-nine occasions, mainly with reference to books, histories, writers and manuscripts; customs and habits, words, languages and dress. Towards the end of the century the term ‘Orientalist’ referred to a style not a scholarly discipline.

Irwin affirmed the value of the Orientalists’ legacy for contemporary researchers and for anyone interested in the history of cross-cultural knowledge and intercultural understanding.⁸⁰ Damiani also admired such writings: ‘although many eighteenth-century travelogues are now considered archaic, their information outdated and their speculations dubious, none of the later narratives rival them in either scope or content.’⁸¹ However, possibly as a result of anxieties stimulated by *Orientalism* from the 1970s, not enough is now known about authors writing about the Levant of the pre-1800s.⁸²

The most stunning consequence ... has been the erasure of several centuries of literary production for the scholar and the intellectual. Manuscripts languish unknown and unread in numerous libraries all over the world. Edited texts float in a limbo of scholarly neglect. A recent, if localized, spate of interest in the late medieval and early modern period has shown in fact that sustained archival excavation and critical application would not only ‘fill in the blanks’ for a vast and important period of literary history but also help us to question and revise the old teleologies that are deeply embedded in these periodizations and histories themselves.⁸³

In *Lust of knowing* Irwin set out to explain who these Orientalists were and posed several useful questions that might also be pertinent to the present research project:

Who taught whom and how does academic transmission work? How does one achieve recognition as a scholar? In any century what resources were necessary and available in order to pursue a proper study of another culture? Was the study of Arabic and Islam really important within the broader framework of Western intellectual life?⁸⁴

⁷⁸ By 1799 the French term *Orientaliste* = a person who dealt with the Levant or preoccupied with Levantine matters. The French *oriental* dates back to 1160. Alain Rey (éd.), *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (Paris: Dictionnaires le Robert, 1992), ii, 1383; Irwin, *Lust of knowing*, 5–6.

⁷⁹ *Aleppo*², i, xv.

⁸⁰ Saree Makdisi and Felicity Nussbaum, *The Arabian Nights in historical context* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 10.

⁸¹ Damiani, *Enlightened observers*, 171.

⁸² Possibly dichotomies, such as ‘tradition’ (pre-1801) and ‘modernity’ (post-1801 studies) have become unnecessarily sharp in the discipline of Middle Eastern history (Judith Tucker and Margaret L. Meriwether, ‘Introduction’, *A social history of women and gender in the modern Middle East* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1999), 10).

⁸³ Friederike Pannewick and Samah Selim, ‘Travelling Traditions’, www.eume-berlin.de/ (4 September 2012).

⁸⁴ Irwin, *For lust of knowing*, 2–3.

Perceptions of Aleppo in *Aleppo* might well have been conditioned by representations of other scholars. Our understanding of the Levant could well be enriched by studying early authorities, such as *Aleppo*, in order to widen the basis on which academic interpretations can depend. Whilst scholars in most modern fields of research hardly interact, any examination of pre-1801 texts also involves engaging with Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Ottoman studies and disentangling their various perspectives, as well as recognising the importance of biblical and Islamic studies and the way they were studied to the end of the eighteenth century.

Any text itself is a multi-dimensional space and the ‘reader is the space on which all the quotations that make up a writing are inscribed without any of them being lost; a text’s unity lies not in its origin but in its destination.’⁸⁵ A tendency to specialise in a single academic discipline in the twenty-first century makes it particularly difficult to ‘translate’ eighteenth-century style and genres into something with which a modern reader of a text such as *Aleppo* will be comfortable. This thesis will attempt to lift this study of an eighteenth-century text out of the circumscribed disciplinary frameworks of history or comparative literature into a critical framework that will see the analysis of the two texts as dynamic: moving away from and circulating across what are often seen as discrete if unstable cultural borders (West/East; European/Oriental) that in the West traditionally placed Europe at its centre.

More broadly, this thesis will reflect on the social and historical influences that shape the reading and writing of literary texts. The reader is ‘an active agent who imparts “real existence” to the work and completes its meaning through interpretation’.⁸⁶ The reader has an important, if not unique, role in creating the meaning and experience of a literary work — just as it will be significant to try to interpret the intention of the author(s). Even today it ‘is the reader who “makes” literature ... The reader is not a free agent, making literature in any old way, but is a member of a community whose assumptions about literature determine the kind of

⁸⁵ Roland Barthes, ‘The death of the author’, in *From Image–Music–Text*, transl. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 146–8.

⁸⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reader-response_criticism (3.8.2012).

attention he pays and thus the kind of literature “he” makes.’⁸⁷ Whilst it can be argued that readers can interpret a text any way they want, the reader’s role in re-creating literary works cannot be ignored. As the modern reader is not part of the reading public of the eighteenth century, it may be difficult for the former to appreciate lost forms or styles of reading. Simply removing the book from its historical context or ignoring the complexities of the past would be bad methodology. In the same way, just selecting evidence to suit a point without detailed discussion would be futile.

1.3 Summary of this thesis and associated conclusions

In the course of the following seven chapters and its conclusion, despite contradictions and gaps in current knowledge, this thesis will attempt to outline who the Russells were, and when and why they wrote *Aleppo*. Chapter 2 will give an account of the intellectual and social personal networks that influenced the production of *Aleppo*. Some of the questions that arise will include many of the following issues. What were the influences on their lives that meant they came to write the book? Did they challenge or confirm what would have been expected of conventional eighteenth-century physicians from Scotland? How did they fit into the Scottish Enlightenment? Tentative answers to these queries may influence the future success of *Aleppo*.

In Part II the emphasis will be on what the two editions of *Aleppo* were, who read them, why the editions were popular and how can they be deconstructed in order to understand why it might be significant to study them nowadays. In order to explore how the second edition was constructed from the first, the focus will be on interrelationships between the two editions. The centre of attention will be, first, on ‘the reader’ and his or her experience of a literary text (Chapter 3);⁸⁸ and, secondly, on the content and form of the work (Chapters 4–5, Part III). Chapter 3 will locate *Aleppo* within literary genres admired in the eighteenth century and compare the undoubted popularity of a somewhat unsophisticated *Aleppo*¹ with that of the more

⁸⁷ Stanley E. Fish, *Is there a text in this Class?* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980).

⁸⁸ In line with the school of literary theory known as ‘Reader-response criticism’.

elegant *Aleppo*². *Aleppo* will be located within the Enlightenment genres of ‘natural history’ and travel writing with their motifs of wonder and curiosity.

The relationships between the two literary texts will be investigated in Chapter 4 in more depth. The focus will be on literary models and additional authorities that inspired the authors. It will seek to address the following questions, at least in part. What bibliographic sources did they use? How were these sources blended together? Were these authorities exhaustive or essential? Was this knowledge merely assembled or effectively distilled? Why did the author(s) and editor need to do this; was it for personal reasons or to attract an ‘audience’? The task will include identifying references used to substantiate the second edition, written in 1794, in which Patrick, through his own literary elegance, provided a positive prism on life in eighteenth-century Aleppo. As *Aleppo*¹ was transformed into *Aleppo*², aspects of the editorial process will be examined for the series of relationships between the two texts is very complex.

What did the Russells write about and why was it popular? What topics did they develop? Part III will take up many of the challenges posed in Part I and Part II by exploring three distinct topics covered by the Russells. It will contain three chapters that variously bring into focus aspects of the Enlightenment: first, scientifically-based subjects (including medicine (Chapter 5) and natural history (Chapter 6), secondly, the study of literature and the ‘pleasures of the imagination’⁸⁹ (Chapter 7). Famous for their studies on the plague and their descriptions of indigenous medical knowledge, Chapter 5 will explore three epidemic diseases (*cutaneous leishmaniasis*, smallpox and the plague), each with a different research path: first, Patrick’s support of Alexander’s original research; secondly, cooperation between them, and thirdly, improvement of the research field.

As will be outlined in Chapter 6, the two editions, pre-Linnaean *Aleppo*¹ and post-Linnaean *Aleppo*², reflect an important watershed during the Enlightenment when the development of taxonomies revolutionized the study of natural history. In

⁸⁹ ‘Pleasures of the imagination’: the visual and performing arts, including literature, music, theatre, painting and so on; part of the rich cultural tradition of the eighteenth century. Alexander would have disliked the use of this phrase as it was the title of two books of poems by Mark Akenside, his fellow physician and protagonist at St Thomas’s Hospital, London (*The poetical works of Mark Akenside*, ed. Robin Dix (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses, 1996), 85–234.

the final section of Chapter 6, the Russells' collections of flora and fauna species will be contextualized, especially as they reflect the increasing specialization on therapeutics and experimental pharmacology as the eighteenth century progressed.

The aim of Chapter 7 will be to locate the two editions of *Aleppo* within the transition in eighteenth-century literary movements: from the Enlightenment with its fascination with the 'pleasures of the imagination' alongside rational objectivity and neoclassicism; to the allure of the pseudo-ethnographies of the *Arabian Nights* from the 1710s onwards, towards the development of Romanticism at the end of the eighteenth century, with its emphasis on personal expressions of imagination. Three topics will be selected to illustrate how apparently exotic topics were variously treated in the two editions of *Aleppo*. First, descriptions of the harem (*ḥarīm*) by Lady Mary Worley Montagu⁹⁰ from what became known as her *Turkish Embassy Letters*⁹¹ were one of Patrick's primary sources. Secondly, descriptions of puppet shows given in *Aleppo* reflect political and social issues in Ottoman society to substantiate their search for 'authenticity'. Thirdly, the discussion on music will demonstrate how the Russells substantiated their observations by using a range of literary and visual elements (images, Arabic terminology, additional descriptions, and Arabic authorities). These chapters should demonstrate the appealing diversity of material studied by the Russells. It is anticipated that it will also reveal many complexities and interrelated problems in the relationships between the two editions, published thirty-eight years apart, that will need further exploration.

It is to be hoped that this thesis will invigorate future exploration of *Aleppo*, the significance of the Russells and their place in the Scottish Enlightenment. *Aleppo* also needs to be reviewed in the light of the development of many academic fields, including the histories of medicine and of the natural sciences, medical anthropology, Arabic literature, the acquisition of Arabic manuscripts and many more disciplines, as well as in the Scottish Enlightenment, as this thesis will aim to demonstrate.

⁹⁰ Hereinafter, 'Lady Mary'.

⁹¹ Lady Mary, *Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M...y W-of M....e*, 3 vols (London: T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, 1763).

Chapter 2

The Russell family: life histories and chains of friendship

2.0 Introduction

The Russells have, until very recently, been largely disregarded, despite their close connections with many important intellectuals in the eighteenth century. In order to explore who wrote and edited the two editions of *Aleppo*¹ and to contemplate why they might have written it, or even why they went to Aleppo in the first place, this chapter will provide an overview of their lives. The first section of this chapter will briefly describe the Russell family in Edinburgh. The second section will outline their lives in cosmopolitan Aleppo. The third section will describe life after the half-brothers left Aleppo and the environments in which they produced *Aleppo*. As dictated by any information available, this chapter will provide many names and relevant dates of friends and colleagues (many of whom are still household names), in order to identify who would have had some influence on the publication of *Aleppo*.

2.1 In Edinburgh

2.1.1 Family background

The father of the authors of *Aleppo*, John Russel[l],² Writer to the Signet,³ of Braidshaw (1671/1672–1759), was an influential lawyer in Edinburgh who died on 28 January 1759 aged 87.⁴ He was elected as a member of the influential Merchant

¹ The Russell family hardly figure in *Aleppo*: Patrick can be identified in *Aleppo*¹, 29 and Alexander is mentioned thirty-four times in *Aleppo*².

² At a time when surnames were not consistently spelt, both spellings, ‘Russell’ and ‘Russel’, were used by members of the family, including Patrick and Alexander.

³ Writer to the Signet: ‘a senior solicitor conducting cases in the Court of Session’ (ODE). The Signet is the Seal of the Court of Session and a sign of its authority. Exceptionally, between John Russell of Braidshaw who was admitted on 16 November 1711 and 1887, six members of the family, of five generations, were Writers to the Signet.

⁴ First called John Russell of Braidshaw in 1708. Braidshaw (Breadshaw, Bredshaw, from brād sceaga ‘broad wood’): an estate near West Calder and now called Broadshaw (www.geonames.org/maps/google_55.7_-3.626.html). John Russell’s father, James Russell of Kingseat, Peebleshire, son of William of Kingseat, inherited the estate through his wife, Margaret,

Company and when only twenty-four was rapidly appointed a Writer to the Signet, arguing cases at the prestigious Court of Sessions.⁵ He was appointed burgess and guild brother of the City of Edinburgh and was factor⁶ for several influential figures including James Coult, the governor of Edinburgh Castle; David Leslie-Melville (1660–1728), third Earl of Leven and second Earl of Melville;⁷ and Daniel Defoe (c.1659/1661–1731).⁸ Whether John Russell of Braidshaw knew that Defoe had been sent to Edinburgh from London to spy on the Scots is not known.⁹ Curiously, the Russells' later interests reflect Defoe's *A continuation of letters written by a Turkish spy at Paris* (1718), *The adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719), and the narrative fiction, *A journal of the plague year*.¹⁰

Peter Williamson's *Directory* ranked Edinburgh citizens in an order that was originally sanctioned when the College of Justice was founded in 1532, that is, Lord of Session, Advocates,¹¹ Writers to the Signet, Lords' and Advocated Clerks, Physicians, were all ranked before the nobility.¹² The nobility included landed gentry and gentlemen (including clergymen and university professors), then followed other middle classes. The aristocratic political system remained more or less intact into the eighteenth century and the landed gentry continued to be powerful. Other critical

from her father, Alexander Lockhart. John's sister Katherine (b.1667), who married Alexander Christie, WS. John's brothers included William, minister of Stobo (b.c.1657), James Russell, WS, Procurator-Fiscal for Edinburgh (b.1668), Alexander (b.1675) and Francis (b.1677). James Paterson, *Scottish surnames* (Edinburgh: J. Stillie, 1866), 55–61.

⁵ Paula R. Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe, his Life* (London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 303.

⁶ 'Factor': in Scotland this means a land agent, often a lawyer, who manages property and estates.

⁷ E.g. GD26/6/168. Account-book of fees due to John Russell of Braidshaw, W.S., by the Earls of Leven for legal services 1712–1728.

⁸ NLS GB 233/Adv. MS. 25.3.9, 'Letter book of John Russell of Braidshaw, WS', 1700–1712, with gaps (December 1704– January 1707, November 1707– May 1709). John's letters to Defoe are from 1710 to 30 October 1712; Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe*, 240, 300–1, eadem, 'John Russell to Daniel Defoe: fifteen unpublished letters', *Philological Quarterly* 61 (1982), 161–77 (164).

⁹ They were trading in wine and horses. Defoe and John Russell also promoted the founding of charity schools and lending libraries in the Highlands by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) (Backscheider, *Daniel Defoe*, 239–40, 300–1) but there is no indication that Alexander and Patrick helped to promote SPCK's missionary work in Syria in the 1750s (Geoffrey Roper, 'Arabic printing in Malta 1825–1845', PhD thesis (University of Durham, 1988), 67–71 (unpublished).)

¹⁰ Patrick owned Defoe's *Journal of the plague year* (1722); idem., *Consolidator* (1705) and idem., *Genuine works*.

¹¹ The Faculty of Advocates in Scotland: a collective term, equivalent to 'barristers' in England.

¹² Peter Williamson, *Williamson's directory, for the city of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: John Wilson, 1773). N.T. Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison (eds), *Scotland in the Age of Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1970), 228.

institutions in Edinburgh were the town council, the university, professional medical bodies, and a harsh and repressive kirk. Just how they were integrated was reflected in the allocation of seats in the Tron Kirk, Edinburgh.¹³ Although European connections broadened horizons of many Scots at the beginning of the Scottish Enlightenment, the main social networks in Edinburgh continued to revolve around commerce, landed gentry and the kirk, as is reflected in John Russell of Braidshaw's marriages:–

(1) Marion/Maria (d.1705), third daughter of Andrew Russell (c.1629–1699), a kinsman and merchant in Rotterdam on 29 August 1698. All their children died in infancy. John Russell of Braidshaw maintained multifarious trading links through Andrew Russell, the leading, much respected and wealthy Scottish merchant based in the Dutch *entrepôt* of Rotterdam. John took over many of Andrew's business interests from 1700 at least until 1712.¹⁴

(2) Ursulla [Ursilla, Urscilla] Alexander (b.1688) in Edinburgh on 24 October 1706. She was from an influential merchant family, the fourth mature child of the late Claud Alexander of Newton (1645–1703), who had a small family estate in Newton Abbey, Paisley.¹⁵ John and Ursulla had nine children (seven of them sons), three of whom reached adulthood and 'all of whom acquired the respect of the world'.¹⁶ These included John, CS, of Roseburn (1710–1796),¹⁷ William (d. August 1787),¹⁸ and Alexander (8 September 1714–28 November 1768).¹⁹

¹³ 'John Russell of Braidshaw' reserved seats 32/33 in December 1744, near those of many advocates, noble families and physicians (D. Butler, *The Tron Kirk of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1806), 302).

¹⁴ NLS GD 1/885. The Andrew Russell papers. Letters received 1681–1692; Andrew is mentioned regularly in John's letter-book. Andrew (d. 1699) became a burgher on his return to Edinburgh.

¹⁵ Bernard Burke, *A genealogical and heraldic dictionary of the landed gentry of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: Harrison, 1863), 1727; Charles Rogers, *Memorials of the Earl of Stirling and of the house of Alexander* (Edinburgh: W. Paterson, 1877), 27–28. His great-grandson, Claud Alexander (1752–1809), of Ballochmyle, Ayrshire, was EIC servant 1772–1786 where he knew Claud Russell; Auditor-General for the EIC in Bengal, he made an immense fortune in indigo and opium; 1787 installed power-looms in his cotton mills in Catrine, advised by David Dale, Richard Arkwright's partner.

¹⁶ Robert Chambers, *A biographical dictionary of eminent Scotsmen* (Edinburgh: Blackie, 1835), iv, 189.

¹⁷ John Russell, *The Form of process in the Court of Session, and the Court of Teinds* (Edinburgh: Kincaid & Bell, 1768). CS = Clerk to the Writers of the Signet Society.

¹⁸ Archibald Geikie, *Annals of the Royal Society Club* (London: Macmillan, 1917), 181.

(3) Mary, daughter of late John (or W.) Anderson (1656/7–1705),²⁰ minister of West Calder married John Russell of Braidshaw on 15 October 1719.²¹ John Anderson studied at the University of Utrecht.²² John and Mary's children included David (1722–2 April 1782), a successful accountant and solicitor in Edinburgh,²³ Patrick (6 February 1726/7–2 July 1805), occasionally entitled 'of Braidshaw', who was born in Edinburgh, Midlothian.²⁴ He never married; Claud (1732–1820); and Balfour, MD (d.1761) who never married.²⁵ Balfour attended the University of Edinburgh. A pupil and friend of William Cullen, Balfour obtained his MD in 1759,²⁶ after training as a surgeon-apothecary for three years from 1752.²⁷ He was appointed Physician in Algiers, but died either on the way or shortly after having arrived.²⁸ Two other children, Thomas (b.1727) and James (b.1730), died in infancy of smallpox.

¹⁹ William Munk, *The roll of the Royal College of Physicians of London &c.* (1861; London: the College, 1878), i, 192; Hawgood, 'Alexander Russell'; Starkey, 'No myopic mirage'; Boogert, 'Patrick Russell', 249.

²⁰ Hew Scott, *Fasti ecclesiae scoticae* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915), i, 179. Some on-line records erroneously state that John Russell of Braidshaw married Janet Gordon in 1696.

²¹ Henry Paton (ed.) *Register of marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1701–1750* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Record Society, 1908), 472. West Calder, 30 km south-west of Edinburgh.

²² William Cochrane Learmonth, *History of West Calder* (West Calder: A.H. Aikman, 1885), 227.

²³ David owned the estate of New Hall, near Penicuik 1771–1782; like many other Russell family members, he was a member of the Royal Company of Archers from 1779 and of the Musical Society in Edinburgh; succeeded in his business by his nephew, Claud Russell (d.1846). His principal clerk was David Herd, collector of ballads.

²⁴ Boulger, 'Russell, Patrick'.

²⁵ Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, 137, gives his birth as 30 October 1733.

²⁶ Balfour Russell, *Dissertatio medica inauguralis De cupro... D. Joannis Gowdie* [Principal of the University from 1754 to 1762] (Edinburgh: Hamilton et al., 1759), on copper. Balfour was listed as 'Scoto. Brit.' in Thomas Craufurd, *History of the University of Edinburgh, from 1580 to 1646* (Edinburgh: A. Neill, 1808), 207.

²⁷ Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, 137.

²⁸ John Thompson, *An account of the life, lectures and writings of Dr William Cullen, MD* (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1832), 129.



Alexander Russell, MD FRS (1715–1768)
with a wreath and emblem of 'Scammonia'
at its base. Painted by N. Dance and
engraved by Trotter ihm.nlm.nih.gov



Patrick Russell, MD FRS (1727–1805)
Engraved by Ridley. Frontispiece to Squibb,
Catalogue



John Russell CS of Roseburn (1710–1796)
1758 portrait by Allan Ramsey (1713–1784),
which hangs in the Minto Room of the
Signet Library, Edinburgh



Claud Russell of Binfield Park (1732–1820)
miniature by Frederick William Locke
ihm.nlm.nih.gov/images/B22599

FIGURE 1. Russell family portraits

2.1.2 The Scottish Enlightenment, education and medical training

The intellectual environment of the Scottish Enlightenment in the eighteenth century was sophisticated, stimulated as it was by the exchange of intellectual ideas with European *savants* and by expanding horizons through trade in the Levant, India and

beyond. The Russells shared an intellectual curiosity and beliefs in the power of knowledge and enlightenment with many *literati* of the Scottish Enlightenment, and knew many personally. Indeed, the Scottish Enlightenment ‘functioned as a constellation of overlapping urban communities of scholars and literary figures who were joined through a multiplicity of communities of nationality, kinship, religion, occupation, education, patronage, friendship and outlook.’²⁹ The Scottish Enlightenment can be seen as the ‘culture of the *literati*’, encompassing medicine and science but not rooted in these disciplines. Scottish ‘men of letters’³⁰ ‘placed a high premium on polite learning as well as human and humanitarian values, such as cosmopolitanism, religious toleration, social conviviality, and moral and economic improvement.’³¹ Critical elements included the autonomy of reason, and confidence to discover causes and principles governing nature, man and society. However, the role of the natural sciences in the Scottish Enlightenment was hotly debated by twentieth-century historians.³²

The classic period of the Scottish Enlightenment witnessed a high standard of education in Scotland, so that, by the mid-eighteenth century, Scotland was one of the most literate societies in Europe. The Russell brothers were educated at the Royal High School, Edinburgh (now the Old Infirmary building, Infirmary Street). William recalled:

so judicious was the plan of education adopted by Mr John Russell that in bringing up a large family of boys, he never in one instance found it necessary to inflict a punishment or even to use a harsh expression. He was never seen to be angry. He lived to the advanced age of eighty-six retaining his cheerfulness and faculties to the last.³³

The period of the Scottish Enlightenment also witnessed the development of its universities. Scottish medical schools had significant personal and collegiate links

²⁹ Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the book* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 147.

³⁰ ‘men of letters’: French *belletrist*, cf. ‘Republic of letters’ cf. *literati*.

³¹ Richard B. Sher, ‘Science and medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment’ in Paul Wood (ed.), *Scottish Enlightenment* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester, 2009), 99–156 (104).

³² Paul Wood, ‘Science in the Scottish Enlightenment’, in Alexander Broadie (eds), *The Cambridge Companion of Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 94–116.

³³ [Everard Home?], ‘Memoirs of the life and writings of Patrick Russell MD FRS’, *The European Magazine* 59 (January 1811), 1–8 (2).

with Göttingen, Tübingen, Padua,³⁴ Paris and Leiden. The Faculty of Medicine in Edinburgh University became formally organized in 1726, its training based on that of Padua and then Leiden. The method of systematic and practical medical teaching of Herman[n] Boerhaave (1668–1738),³⁵ a brilliant teacher in Leiden, was adopted in Edinburgh.³⁶ Boerhaave's methods included a sound scientific base,³⁷ and he encouraged students to seek answers to problems for themselves.³⁸ By the mid-eighteenth century, Edinburgh had become the leading institution for the study of medicine in Scotland, replacing Leiden as the prime medical institution in Europe by the 1740s.³⁹

Fothergill provided an excellent summary of the Edinburgh School of Medicine in his eulogy of Alexander.⁴⁰ Alexander graduated from the University of Edinburgh, attending lectures there from 1732 to 1734. The gifted band of medical lecturers was led by the celebrated Alexander Monro *primus* (d.1767; Professor of Anatomy, 1719 to 1764), who developed the Edinburgh Medical School;⁴¹ and established the Royal Infirmary which opened in December 1741, modelled on Leiden's St Caecilia's *Gasthaus*.⁴² Patrick's lecturers also included physician and

³⁴ E. Morpurgo, 'English physicians *doctorate* — at the University of Padua', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 20 (1926–1927), 1369–80.

³⁵ Mark Harrison, *Medicine in an age of commerce and empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 29–120.

³⁶ Andrew Cunningham and Roger Kenneth French (eds), *The medical Enlightenment of the eighteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 116, only footnote about 'P. Russell'.

³⁷ Douglas Guthrie, 'The influence of the Leyden school upon Scottish medicine', *Medical History* 3/2 (1959), 108–22; Andrew Cunningham, 'Boerhaave's medical system and why it was adopted in Edinburgh', in Andrew Cunningham and Roger Kenneth French (eds), *The medical Enlightenment of the eighteenth century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 40–66; Boogert, 'Patrick Russell', 225–6.

³⁸ The best authority on Boerhaave remains E. Ashworth Underwood, *Boerhaave's men at Leyden and after* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1977), 88–125 (on Edinburgh medical school).

³⁹ Wood, 'Science in the Scottish Enlightenment', 96; J.R.R. Christie, 'The origins and development of the Scottish scientific community, 1680–1760', *History of Science* 12 (1974), 122–41, on the Monro-Dummond axis and the influence of Boerhaave.

⁴⁰ Fothergill, *Essay*, 523–5.

⁴¹ For brief overviews, see *Aleppo observed*, 27–28; Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, 133–4.

⁴² Other lecturers trained by Boerhaave included John Innes (d.1733, MD Padua 1722, Professor of the Practice of Medicine) with John Rutherford (d.1779; sole Professor of Medicine from 1734); Sir John Pringle, FRS (d.1782; Edinburgh, Professor of Moral Philosophy, 1733–1744, the 'father of military medicine'); Dr Andrew St Clair/ Sinclair (c.1693–1742 or 1747, Theory of Physic; trained at Angers); Andrew Plummer (d.1756; Professor of Chemistry by 1734, organised the Medical Faculty); John Rutherford (Edinburgh, Professor of the Practice of Physic by 1741, laborious, attentive and exact).

botanist Francis Home FRSE FRCPE (1719–1813). They all revolutionized medical teaching and raised the reputation of Edinburgh's medical school.

There was a lasting professional and social network of medical graduates.⁴³ Alexander was one of the first members of the Medical Society of the University of Edinburgh,⁴⁴ which was founded near the end of August 1734; it quickly gained a local reputation as a budding 'seminary of physic' and was formally constituted in 1737.⁴⁵ Its members also collected specimens of flora and fauna. Patrick, who graduated about 1747, was also member from 1744 to 1745 with William Pitcairn, MD, FRS, FRCP (1712–1791),⁴⁶ and John Hope, FRSE, FRS, FRCPE (1725–1786) and several others who later became eminent.⁴⁷ Its objectives were the 'mutual improvement and the investigation of truth ... and the cultivation of true friendship by social and liberal intercourse,'⁴⁸ and clearly identified throughout its members' careers.

The same students who joined the Medical Society in 1734 helped Alexander dissect a woman's corpse. Although Monro's anatomy classes were popular, supplies of cadavers were limited so he sometimes used models. At the time post-mortem dissections were only allowed on bodies of hanged criminals, and the number was severely limited; there were tales of exhumations for dissection by anatomy students in the 1720s.⁴⁹ The dissection took place for three weeks in August 1734, in Monro's laboratory.⁵⁰ By the end of August, they were 'intimately acquainted with each other, after spending a social evening at a tavern, agreed to meet once a fortnight at their

⁴³ Medical Society of Edinburgh, *General list of the members of the Medical Society of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: John Greig, 1869), lists members only from 1737–1738.

⁴⁴ An earlier Society was founded in 1731, 'for the improvement of medical knowledge'. Alexander Monro *Primus* was its secretary and editor of its *Medical Essays and Observations* (5 issues 1733–1744), a journal adopted by the later society. Founder members of the subsequent society included Alexander, George Cleghorn, William Cuming, Alexander Hamilton, James Kennedy and Archibald Taylor.

⁴⁵ Fothergill, *Essay*, 6; Guenter B. Risse, *New medical challenges during the Scottish Enlightenment* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005), 68, 70; Christie, 'Scottish scientific community', 132–3.

⁴⁶ David H. Rembert, Jr, 'William Pitcairn, MD (1712–1791): a biographical sketch', *Archives of natural history* 12 (1985), 219–29.

⁴⁷ Plus James Russell, Francis Home, Mark Akenside, Oliver Goldsmith, and Adam Freer (Medical Society of Edinburgh, *General list*, 10).

⁴⁸ Cuthbert E. Dukes, 'London medical societies in the 18th century', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 53 (1960), 699–706 (700).

⁴⁹ Elaine G. Breslaw, *Alexander Hamilton and provincial America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008), 51.

⁵⁰ Breslaw, *Alexander Hamilton*, 47–51.

respective lodgings, where it was arranged that a dissertation in English or Latin on some medical subject should be read, and afterwards discussed by the auditors.⁵¹ On 20 December 1734, William Cuming MD (1714–1787) spoke on rabies (*Rabies canina*), Alexander on venereal diseases (*Gonorrhoea virulent*), George Cleghorn MD FRS (1716–1789) on epilepsy (*Epilepsia*), and James Kennedy on the menstrual cycle (*Fluxu mensium*).⁵² They continued to meet until the summer of 1735 after which Cleghorn and Fothergill (who joined in his second year, in 1735), continued the Society.⁵³

2.1.3 Later qualifications

Were Alexander and Patrick awarded their MDs *in absentia*? Whilst still living in Aleppo, Alexander obtained an MD from Glasgow in 1748.⁵⁴ Glasgow's Medical Faculty could only award degrees to those who had already taken an Arts degree hence Alexander seems to have been awarded an MA from Glasgow in the same year that he was awarded his MD. The *ODNB* states that Patrick 'is said to have graduated MD'. Patrick is also listed as obtaining his MD from King's College, Aberdeen,⁵⁵ when his supervisor was Professor James Gregory MD and his examiners, on 30 May 1753, were 'Drs Pottersfield and Clark of Edinburgh'. These examiners would have been the prominent Scottish physicians, William Porterfield, MD (1696–1771)⁵⁶ and David Clerk, MD, FRCPE (1746–1768),⁵⁷ who were based in Edinburgh. Curiously the Aberdonian list also states [W.S.] after his name but did

⁵¹ John Coakley Lettsom (ed.), *The Works of John Fothergill, MD, member of the Royal College of Physicians*, 3 vols (London: Charles Dilly, 1783–1784), cxxxv, 367; Chambers, *Eminent Scotsmen*, ii, 20.

⁵² Breslaw, *Alexander Hamilton*, 52; Thomas Joseph Pettigrew (ed.), *Selections from the medical papers and correspondence of the late John Coakley Lettsom* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1817), 288–90.

⁵³ Fothergill, *Works*, cxxxvii.

⁵⁴ 'Alexander Russel, MA 1748 MD 1748. Sometime Surgeon to the Turkey Company at Aleppo, afterwards Practitioner in London; became an authority on epidemic diseases and was the advisor of the Government and Privy Council in the prevention of the plague in Britain' (W.I. Addison, *A roll of graduates of the University of Glasgow from 31st December 1727 to 31st December 1897* (Glasgow: James MacLehose, 1898), 535).

⁵⁵ Peter John Anderson, *Officers and graduates of University [and] King's College, Aberdeen* (Aberdeen: Spalding Club, 1893), 129.

⁵⁶ Porterfield wrote a treatise on the eye and a first-hand account of phantom-limb syndrome, following the amputation of one of his legs.

⁵⁷ David Clerk, son of a physician in Edinburgh; MD Edinburgh 1746, for a dissertation on rheumatism; Physicians-in-Ordinary, Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh, until his death.

not provide a list of abbreviations. It may just record that Patrick was the son of a Writer of the Signet.⁵⁸

2.1.4 Towards Aleppo

This section will speculate on those who might have facilitated the ‘explorer’⁵⁹ Alexander’s appointment as physician in Aleppo in 1740 and contains several original suggestions. Little is known about the Russells’ careers immediately after they left Edinburgh and before they arrived in Aleppo. There is no evidence that Alexander pursued his medical studies in Leiden, Padua or Paris. In 1734 Alexander was apprenticed to an uncle, Alexander Russel(l),⁶⁰ MD, CRMES, FRCPEd, of Elgin (d.1748), a surgeon who apparently worked variously in Edinburgh, London and at sea.⁶¹ After he left the University of Edinburgh in 1735, Alexander may have continued this apprenticeship in Edinburgh, London or at sea. Alternatively, he may have used his father’s many commercial connections to join the merchant navy, possibly serving, like novelist Tobias Smollett (1721–1771),⁶² as a ships’ surgeon.⁶³ Furthermore, when Alexander was in London he may have attended lectures at the Royal Society and established useful contacts there, though he was not then a Fellow. One of these links may well have been with the Orcadian, Mordach (Murdoch) Mackenzie, MD, FRS (1712–1797).⁶⁴ Mackenzie, who became physician in Smyrna

⁵⁸ Listed as ‘Dr. Patricius Russel’ in Anderson, *Officers and graduates*, 129.

⁵⁹ As listed in archives in the Royal College of Surgeons, London.

⁶⁰ Charles Mosley (ed.), *Burke’s Peerage, Baronetage & Knightage*, 3 vols (107th edition, Wilmington, Delaware: Burke’s Peerage, 2003), i, 40.

⁶¹ ‘Dr Russel, Elginensis’, Aberdeen, MD c.1704–1707 (Anderson, *Officers and graduates*, 125); like his brother Francis (a surgeon-apothecary) who worked with him, Alexander was a Chirurgeon (surgeon-physician) of Edinburgh; Honorary member, RCPed 17 February 1712 (Royal College of Physicians, Edinburgh, *Historical sketch and laws of the Royal College of Physicians, of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Royal College of Physicians, 1867), 14); author of several medical works published in Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Alexander was lost at sea according to Paterson, *Scottish surnames*, 61.

⁶² In 1740 Smollett served as surgeon’s second mate on the *Chichester* and celebrated the experience in *The adventures of Roderick Random* (1748), a rollicking novel was influenced by genre of the Spanish picaresque.

⁶³ *Aleppo observed*, 49, 96.

⁶⁴ By 1760, Mackenzie was a pioneering hydrographer and surveyor for the Admiralty, conducting surveys on tides around Orkney and Shetland. Raymond Phineas Stearns, ‘Fellows of the Royal Society in North Africa and the Levant, 1662–1800’, *Notes and Records* 11/1 (1954), 75–90 (83–84); Averil M Lysaght, ‘Joseph Banks at Skara Brae and Stennis, Orkney, 1772’, *Notes and records* 28 (1973–1974), 221–34. Was Mackenzie in Scotland in 1740–1744? In which case Alexander might have met him in 1740 before he went to Aleppo: or was the hydrographer someone else with the same name?

from about 1731 and then in Constantinople, was initially in the Royal Navy, and may have had maritime links with Alexander Russell of Elgin.⁶⁵

John Russell of Braidshaw's important place in the Scottish legal establishment would have enabled his sons to benefit from a range of worthy patrons, including the Dukes of Argyll, and it may well have been through their patronage that William, Alexander and Claud secured their positions.⁶⁶ John Russell CS of Roseburn, Alexander's brother, was Secretary of the Royal Bank of Scotland and would have had many influential connections.⁶⁷ Another possible patron was George Drummond (1687/8–1766), an influential Whig of means, an anti-Jacobite, accountant-general of excise in Scotland, Freemason, and six times Lord Provost, who was the prime mover behind civic improvements in Edinburgh, especially the 'new town' in the 1760s.⁶⁸ He effectively constituted the School of Medicine in Edinburgh in 1727 helping to recruit four Leiden-educated medical lecturers, and enabled the creation of the Royal Infirmary in Edinburgh in 1736.⁶⁹ He knew John Russell of Braidshaw well through the Town Council.⁷⁰ Furthermore, Alexander dedicated *Aleppo*¹ to the consul in Aleppo, Alexander Drummond, George's brother, also a Freemason and who set up the first lodge in Aleppo, who was another friend of William.⁷¹

Possibly the Drummonds helped to secure the post for Alexander through Dr Patrick Oliphant: there were historical clan ties between the Drummond and

⁶⁵ Mordach Mackenzie, 'Extract of a letter from Constantinople, of the 16th September 1754, from Murdock Mackenzie, MD, concerning the late earthquake there', *Philosophical Transactions* 48 (1754), 819–821. Part of his coin collection is in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow. Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, 122–4 is probably incorrect in suggesting that 'Mackenzie' can be identified as Alexander Mackenzie, MD (Aberdeen) 1755–1780, who served in Jamaica.

⁶⁶ George K. McGilvery, *East India patronage and the British state* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008) includes a chapter on the Drummonds.

⁶⁷ He married Bethia, daughter of Daniel Cambell of Wester Greenyards, Secretary to the Royal Bank of Scotland.

⁶⁸ Roger L Emerson, *Academic patronage in the Scottish enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

⁶⁹ A.C. Chitnis, 'Provost Drummond and the origins of Edinburgh medicine', in R.H. Campbell and A.S. Skinner (eds), *The origins and nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), 86–97.

⁷⁰ In 1739 George married his third wife, Hannah Parson, widow of a Major Livingston, a distant relative of the Russells (Old Edinburgh Club, *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club* (Edinburgh: F. and A. Constable, 1911), 35).

⁷¹ Boogert, 'Freemasonry', described Alexander Drummond's early lack of integrity as a customs collector in Greenock and his subsequent ruin before leaving for the Levant.

Oliphants.⁷² Oliphant, from an important Highland Jacobite family, was a ship's surgeon on EIC vessels from 1729. Oliphant succeeded Dr Tomlin in Gombroon (Bandar Abbas) and stayed in Persia for five years.⁷³ If no physician was appointed when he was on duty upcountry, medical cover was provided by local or other European physicians. Curiously, there was a reference to a Dr Russell in 1735: 'Doctor Russell as a gratuity for staying at Gombroon till the return of Dr Oliphant from up-country with the agent 3,000 shahis.'⁷⁴ Who was this Dr Russell? Could this have been Alexander before he went to Aleppo? A clue may lie in a portrait of John Russell of Braidshaw that depicts him smoking a long clay pipe which might be of Persian origin.⁷⁵ Whilst any supporting evidence of Alexander's naval career has yet to be discovered, it might explain his presence in Bandar Abbas.

Alternatively, William, though probably only a junior seaman at the time, may have recommended Alexander to the post in Aleppo through his uncle, Alexander Russell of Elgin or as a result of connections with the Drummonds and Mackenzie. Mackenzie was introduced to Alexander Drummond in Florence by Oliphant, who was *en route* to Basra in c.1744.⁷⁶ By 1747 William was serving as an officer on a cargo vessel⁷⁷ (*carazoon*), the *Thames*⁷⁸ that traded between London and Eastern Mediterranean ports.⁷⁹ Mackenzie, then probably in Smyrna, visited Alexander

⁷² Thomas Laurence Kington-Oliphant, *The Jacobite lairds of Gask* (London: Grampian Club, 1870), ix, 83–89, 254–5.

⁷³ By 1729 Patrick Oliphant was in London before leaving for Persia. In Gombroon Oliphant received a salary of £60 p.a. (in 2005 this was the equivalent of £5,177.40) and paid privately for work outside the agency but collection was difficult and he was awarded a sum of 4,000 *shahis* to offset against his bad debts thus incurred. According to <http://pierre-marteau.com/wiki/index.php?title=Persia:Money> (7 December 2012) 1 *shahi* was roughly equivalent to 4d or 5d, so 4000 shahis was the equivalent of £85. There was likely to have been a similar arrangement in Aleppo for the Russells. Oliphant went on to Basra, then Mosul. After five years in Gombroon, Oliphant was succeeded by Mr John Rose (d.1740) (Elgood, *Medical history of Persia*, 411–2).

⁷⁴ Elgood, *Medical history of Persia*, 412.

⁷⁵ London: British Library, India Office Library cat. 1986, no. 2 as c.1730, though such apparatuses (glasses, books, pipes, etc.) were regularly used by portrait painters. The pipe needs to be provenanced.

⁷⁶ Boogert, 'Freemasonry', 117.

⁷⁷ Drummond, *Different cities*, 122–31.

⁷⁸ Like the *Delawar*, the *Thames* was a cargo vessel shipping cloth for Richard Stratton in Aleppo. It was lost in Tripoli harbour, Syria, in 1753 after an explosion (DE/R/B269 4 Jan 1753; Bill of lading DE/R/B387/21). Another *Thames* is listed in the Radcliffe family records from 1755. Groups of 'general ships' would sail in squadrons. Similar cargo vessels included the 'Levant', 'Triton', 'Ann' and 'Gloucester'.

⁷⁹ *Aleppo observed*, 31.

Drummond in Scanderoon.⁸⁰ From there, the former sent Mackenzie a copy of the text of an inscribed stone he despatched to his patron, the Duke of Argyll, in Britain: it was transported by William from Scanderoon along with some cedar cones from Lebanon.⁸¹ William was still in communication with Mackenzie in 1757.⁸²

By 1748 Patrick was a ship's surgeon on the *Delawar*, a 'general ship' or cargo vessel (*carazoon*) that sailed between England, around the eastern Mediterranean and to the Levant.⁸³ Probably William or Alexander secured this post for Patrick, as the *Delawar* was owned by the Radcliffe family who traded in Aleppo. Or he may have secured it through the Drummond family's links with the Freemasons.⁸⁴ It was chartered at the request of merchant houses by the Levant Company on various occasions between 1737 and 1753 to transport goods being traded by members of the Company in Aleppo and elsewhere.

This section introduced the Russell family of Edinburgh and their extensive network of associates: their family background, their work associates and their intellectual networks. Family connections influenced them throughout their lives; whilst their intellectual circles provided an intimate, complex network of overlapping

⁸⁰ Boogert, 'Freemasonry', 117.

⁸¹ Boogert, 'Freemasonry', 117, citing SP 105/118/415/205r Drummond to Duke of Argyll, 17 April 1749.

⁸² William Russell, Walbrook, London, 2 April 1757, sent naturalist John Ellis an excerpt from a letter from Mackenzie who claimed that he could not see anything with the Cuff microscope sent to him by Ellis (Spencer Savage, *The Correspondence and miscellaneous papers of John Ellis, FRS* (London: Linnean Society, 1948), 16. John Cuff (d.1792) made microscopes with an efficient focus mechanism, used by specialists such as Boerhaave for examining botanical specimens.

⁸³ The Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Delme-Radcliffe papers (DE/R), contain many commercial records of voyages made by the 384-ton *Delawar* between London, Stamboul, Scanderoon (Alexandretta), Smyrna, Cyprus, Leghorn and Tripoli (Syria). It had a crew of forty-six (Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, 210–13); Mark Casson (ed.), *Emergence of international business* (London: Routledge, 1999), 180–2, citing SP 110/74. Further work is needed to clarify the Russells' maritime career.

⁸⁴ According to *Aleppo observed*, 16, 96, 97, Patrick joined the Freemasons in 1748 whilst still on the *Delawar* but I am not yet convinced, though he did own a copy of William Smith's *A pocket companion for Free-masons* (London: E. Rider, 1738). The only member of the Russell family listed in Bruce Hogg and Diane Clement (comp.), 'Alphabetical List of Fellows of the Royal Society who were Freemasons' (www.freemasonry.london.museum/os/wp-content/resources/frs_freemasons_complete_jan2010.pdf, 2010) is Patrick's nephew William Russell, MD, FRS, later Sir William Russell, Bt (1773–1839), youngest son of John Russell of Roseburn. c.1778 Brigadier-General Horne by patent from the Duke of Cumberland, Provincial Grand Master on the Coast of Coromandel, had already set up lodge No. 152, 'Ancient York Masons' which became a Grand Lodge. Claud and Patrick are not listed as members. As its Acting Grand Master, Josias Du Pré Porcher (one of Patrick's executors) was involved in setting up Freemasonry lodge, 'Perfect Unanimity, No. 1', in Madras in October 1787 (George Oliver, William Sandys, William Preston, *The Antiquities of Freemasonry* (Philadelphia, L. Hyneman, 1854), 388–91).

associates and interconnections. Despite the Union with England in 1707, Scots saw themselves as a European country, educated in both Scottish and European traditions. From 1725 onwards, a patronage system existed in Scotland by which lucrative posts in the EIC (and even a few in the Levant Company) were given in order to secure political majorities in Scotland and Westminster.⁸⁵ The Russells' lives reflected an ever expanding network of connections within Scotland with a cultivated aristocracy of landed gentry and middle-class merchants; with the 'near-abroad' (London); 'middle-abroad' (Rotterdam, Leiden, Paris); 'abroad around the Mediterranean' (Levant, Constantinople, Smyrna, Algiers, Livorno, Venice, Minorca); and 'far-abroad' (India, West Indies).

2.2 In Aleppo

This section will locate the Russells' daily life in the cosmopolitan and multi-ethnic and multi-religious environment of Aleppo, within which they researched *Aleppo*. Not only serving the members of the Levant Company, Alexander and Patrick also mixed with and treated people from all the various communities of faiths.

2.2.1 The Russells as Physicians in Aleppo

Alexander was Physician to the Levant Company factory in Aleppo from 1740 until he resigned in 1753 when he returned to Britain.⁸⁶ In Aleppo he established an 'extensive practice among all ranks and degrees of people', becoming expert on a range of illnesses and medical conditions.⁸⁷ According to Fothergill, Alexander's kindly reputation spread throughout the Ottoman empire so that he was even summoned to the Porte from time to time to provide medical advice.⁸⁸ In 1750, after graduating from university, Patrick joined Alexander in Aleppo, and in 1753 succeeded him as Physician to the Factory there, a position that he held until 1771/2.⁸⁹

⁸⁵ McGilvery, *East India patronage*.

⁸⁶ Boulger, 'Russell, Alexander'.

⁸⁷ *Aleppo*², ii, 301.

⁸⁸ Fothergill, *Essay*.

⁸⁹ Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*: on Alexander, 137–42; on Patrick, 143–9.

The Russells' professionalism under the pressure of disease was admirable. As physicians, they denied themselves the protection of enclosure when an epidemic of the plague occurred:

When the first symptoms of that scourge of human nature at any time appeared, far from shutting himself up, as was customary with Europeans, Dr Russell remained calm and collected, and displayed a steady perseverance in the discharge of his duty, ... At the most imminent risk did Dr Russell then apply himself to the treatment of the diseased.⁹⁰

2.2.2 The Russells and the Levant Company

This section will explore the commercial environment of Aleppo and the place of the Levant Company, the collegiate networks that developed between members of the factory in Aleppo and the administrative arrangements therein.

The walled city of Old Aleppo focused on commerce, crafts, law and religious practice as it still does today.⁹¹ There was a strong if isolated European mercantile community resident in the security of its caravanserai (*khāns*).⁹² Like other officials and factors of the Levant Company, Alexander and Patrick lived and worked in the Khān al-Jumruk, near the Great Umayyad mosque, at the heart of the bazaar.⁹³ The *khān* has only one main gated entrance which was locked at night, a central interior courtyard with commercial enterprises on the ground floor, and larger rooms used as accommodation for the merchants on the first floor. Khān al-Jumruk was on a key route to the epicentres of Ottoman political power in the city: the citadel and the *seraglio*, nearby. Over the years, it was variously occupied by English, French and Dutch merchants and visited by travellers,⁹⁴ for this *khān*, built in 1574 as part of a larger complex that included a *qayṣariyyah* and two *sūqs*, offered some security to these merchants. Work there was uninterrupted, cyclical and repetitive;⁹⁵ even monastic though there was usually intense activity in January and February when ships arrived from European ports and docked in Latakia (al-Lādhiqiyyah) and Sanderoon.

⁹⁰ G.G. Cunningham (ed.), *Lives of eminent and illustrious Englishmen*, 8 vols (Glasgow: A. Fullarton, 1837). iii, 118–9.

⁹¹ Starkey, 'Khan al-Jumruk'.

⁹² Starkey, 'Khan al-Jumruk'.

⁹³ Starkey, 'Khan al-Jumruk'.

⁹⁴ Robin Fedden, *English travellers in the Near East* (London: Longman, 1958).

⁹⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 12.

The Levant Company not only managed Anglo-Ottoman relations but also England's diplomacy in the region for nearly 250 years.⁹⁶ From the creation of the Levant Company in 1581, if not before, European traders were attracted by stories of fabulous riches that could be gained through trade and by accounts of the enlightened tolerance of the people of the Ottoman empire. Yet it did not control Ottoman territory or raise taxes on the local population.⁹⁷ The Levant Company prospered until the early eighteenth century, was in sharp decline by the late eighteenth century, but retained its factory in Aleppo until 1825.

The Levant Company, a joint-stock partnership, was responsible for the appointment of staff and maintenance of the British Consulate at Aleppo. Officials at the 'English Factory' comprised a well-structured community that included a consul, a chancellor under the consul, vice-consul, treasurer,⁹⁸ chaplain and physician.⁹⁹ Consuls were salaried staff paid by the Levant Company, who reported to the ambassadors at the Porte.¹⁰⁰ Although they had some limited extraterritorial jurisdiction over resident nationals,¹⁰¹ consuls were not colonial administrators but operated according to the whims of the Ottoman sultans and their administrators, especially of the local Pasha. The Russells also treated these local dignitaries and their families:—

The Pascha of Aleppo particularly distinguished him [Alexander] and this intimacy enabled Dr Russel [sic] to render the most important services to the factory the Pascha indeed did not fail to consult him in every act of importance and many of the criminals who were natives owed their lives to the doctor's interposition. The Pascha carried his

⁹⁶ Mortimer Epstein, *Early History of the Levant Company* (London: G. Routledge. [1908]); Davis, *Devonshire Square*; Wood, *History of the Levant Company*; Herbert Luther Bodman, *Political factions in Aleppo, 1760–1826* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1963); Bruce Masters, 'Trading diasporas and "nations": the genesis of national identities in Aleppo', *International Historical Review* 9/3 (1987), 345–67; idem, 'Aleppo: The Ottoman empire's caravan city', in Eldem Edhem, Daniel Goffman, and Bruce Masters (eds), *The Ottoman city between east and west* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 17–78; Mather, *Pashas*.

⁹⁷ Mather, 'The Levant Company and Turkish merchants', *History today* 61/5 (2011); Jacob M. Price, 'What did merchants do? Reflections on British overseas trade, 1660–1790', *The Journal of Economic History* 49/2 (1989), 267–84 (267–8).

⁹⁸ Financial affairs for the Levant Company in Aleppo were managed by a Treasurer until 1783.

⁹⁹ Mather, *Pashas*, Laidlaw, *British in the Levant and Aleppo observed*, 86–87, on the consular structure; on the Levant Company, its officials and their daily lives.

¹⁰⁰ Giovanni, l'Abbé de Mariti, *Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine, with a general history of the Levant* (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1791), 176–89, detailed consulate officials.

¹⁰¹ *Aleppo*², i, 321–333; Davis, *Devonshire Square*, 58–59; Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 108.

esteem for Dr Russel [sic] so far that he lent some valuable presents to his aged father saying to him I am obliged for your friendship and assistance.¹⁰²

In 1749 the Pasha even sent presents back to his father, ‘the worthy old man’, John Russell of Braidshaw.¹⁰³ In the 1750s Alexander was almost constantly at the Pasha’s court, leaving Patrick to run the rest of the practice.¹⁰⁴ Later Patrick enjoyed rare privileges.¹⁰⁵ Due to his ‘abilities and behaviour and was allowed by the Bashaw of Aleppo to wear a turban, a mark of distinction seldom conferred upon an European.’¹⁰⁶ Patrick knew ‘Rageb Bashaw’, identified as Mehmet Raghib Pasha (1699–1763), the governor-general (*vāli*) of Aleppo in 1755–1756.¹⁰⁷ An enlightened governor, he gave Patrick permission to dissect corpses in Aleppo.¹⁰⁸ The Russells were also friendly with other important dignitaries there including the *mufti* Muḥammad Trabulsī Zadeh, Efendi.¹⁰⁹

While consular officials of the Levant Company acted as diplomatic agents, the focus of their activities centred on Anglo-Ottoman commercial relations.¹¹⁰ The chancellor and his assistants dealt with official correspondence, records of tariffs, levies and other payments, as well as personnel and security matters.¹¹¹ The consulate was responsible for as many as forty factors who were paid by their merchant companies in London, and associated staff including storemen, porters and dragomans,¹¹² who were often Italian, Greek or local Christians. There was a ‘chause, who walks before the consul carrying a staff tipped with silver’ who acted as major-domo, an official and personal messenger to the consul¹¹³ and several non-

¹⁰² William Tooke, William Beloe, and Robert Nares, *A new and general biographical dictionary* (London: G. G. and J. Robinson, 1798), 156.

¹⁰³ Fothergill, *Essay*, iii, 434. *Aleppo observed*, 85–86, on the administration of Aleppo.

¹⁰⁴ *Aleppo*², ii, 313–4. Fothergill, *Essay*, iii, 369.

¹⁰⁵ Cunningham, *Lives*, viii, 118.

¹⁰⁶ Clarke, ‘Russell, Patrick’, 485–6.

¹⁰⁷ Fothergill, *Essay*, iii, 369. *Aleppo*², i, 249–50; ii, 131.

¹⁰⁸ Grand Vezir 1757–1763. Sir James Porter included a biography of Mehmet Raghib Pasha in *Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners of the Turks* (1768; London: J. Nourse, 1771), 104–18.

¹⁰⁹ *Aleppo*¹, 119; *Aleppo*², i, 336–8. Boogert, ‘Patrick Russell’, 241–2.

¹¹⁰ British consular records before 1791 were generally in the form of merchants’ letter-books, on commercial matters, shipments, rates of exchange (Bodman, *Political factions in Aleppo*, 146–8).

¹¹¹ Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, 217.

¹¹² *Aleppo*², ii, 44.

¹¹³ *Aleppo*², ii, 3. ‘Chause’, from the Turkish *çāvuş*, messenger. In 1748 this post was held by Henry King (*Aleppo observed*, 86, 96).

Muslims who purchased protection¹¹⁴ or semi-diplomatic affiliations as ‘interpreters’, a system that Patrick disliked.¹¹⁵ The Christian dragomen or interpreters George Aidy [Jirjis ʿĀʿida],¹¹⁶ and his father, the wealthy Shukrī ʿĀʿida, were trading through the Dutch and English in Aleppo in the 1750s and 1760s.¹¹⁷

Levant Company merchants were expert brokers keeping the balance sheets and organizing credit arrangements and many of them became wealthy. However, unlike the EIC where there was massive recruitment of Scots during the eighteenth century, the majority of the factors and administrators were English, apart from many of the Scottish physicians and the occasional consul. It was difficult to make a massive fortune in Aleppo during the 1730s and 1740s and some English traders went bankrupt.¹¹⁸ Nineteen companies of factors in 1738–1747 operated in Aleppo in 1738–1747; there was a large influx of new traders in 1753–1754, and fifty-eight active traders living there between 1748 and 1757. Most of those working with the Levant Company stayed seven to ten years in the East.¹¹⁹

Between 1723 and 1746 there were a series of wars against the Persians which seriously affected the silk trade from the east.¹²⁰ Just before Alexander arrived in Aleppo in 1740, the Ottoman empire defeated Austria and Russia leading to the Treaty of Belgrade (1739). Antagonisms over trading empires led to the Seven Years War (1756–1763) between Britain and France. This affected trade in Aleppo and delayed ships. There was a shortage of money and commercial orders decreased,¹²¹ yet the respective communities in Aleppo continued to socialize.¹²² From 1768 to 1774, disastrous wars between the Ottoman empire and Russia led to the humiliation

¹¹⁴ Russia considered that the Treaty of Kuçuk Kaynarca in 1774 gave them the right to protect Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman empire, just as France had long protected Catholics there.

¹¹⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 47; *Aleppo observed*, 191–2.

¹¹⁶ SP 110/29, f. 242 (Boogert, *The Capitulations and the Ottoman legal system* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 207).

¹¹⁷ Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 366; Boogert, ‘European patronage in the Ottoman empire’, in Alistair Hamilton et al., *Friends and rivals in the East* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 187–222 (217–19). On these dragomans, Boogert, ‘Intermediaries *par excellence*?’, in Bernard Heyberger and Chantal Verdeil (eds), *Hommes de l’entre-deux* (Paris: Indes savantes, 2009), 95–115.

¹¹⁸ Davis, *Devonshire Square*, 19.

¹¹⁹ Davis, *Devonshire Square*, 79.

¹²⁰ Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 23, 149.

¹²¹ Elena Frangakis-Syrett, ‘Trade practices in Aleppo in the middle of the 18th century’, *Revue du monde musulman et de la Méditerranée* 62 (1991), 123–32.

¹²² Bodman, *Political factions in Aleppo*, 104–5, 147.

of the Ottoman empire in the Treaty of Kuçuk Kaynarca of 1774. These wars variously affected the taxation and fortunes of Janissaries and Levantine merchants. Mather provided an authentic feel for the commercial stresses and pleasures endured by its merchants: ‘Mixing among people of many faiths, writing copious observations for readers and correspondents back home, and bringing Arabic and Turkish texts back to England, the pashas helped shape British understanding of the Ottoman empire as an entity to be feared, respected and at times admired.’¹²³

There is no space here to discuss the factors that the Russells knew in Aleppo but a few are selected here to illustrate the range of their interests: others are listed in Appendix 2. A friend was factor Arthur Pullinger¹²⁴ who lived in Aleppo between 1725 and 1739¹²⁵ and returned there at least in 1747. He was an epigrapher and friend of the French Enlightenment writer, Voltaire (1694–1778).¹²⁶ Factor Colville Bridger¹²⁷ was a friend of the Professor of Oriental Languages in Leiden, Jan Jacob Schultens (1716–1788) who corresponded with Patrick in 1766 about acquiring Arabic manuscripts.¹²⁸ Reverend Thomas Dawes, chaplain to the Factory in Aleppo from August 1759 to about June 1769, started a register of events from 1762.¹²⁹ Dawes also shared an interest in weather records (as did Arthur Pollard), epidemics and coins with Patrick and Alexander Drummond.¹³⁰ John Free (d.1755 in Aleppo) lived opposite Alexander in the *khān*.¹³¹ The Free brothers, Nathaniel (d.1789)¹³² and John,¹³³ with the assistance of Alexander Drummond and William, helped Alexander circumvent trading restrictions on physicians serving the Levant Company, so that he

¹²³ Mnaya Jasanoff, Review of James Mather, *Pashas*, *The Guardian* (5 December 2009).

¹²⁴ Thomas Drew-Bear, Christian Naour and Ronald S. Stroud, ‘Arthur Pullinger’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* NS 75/3 (1985), 1–85; Davis, *Devonshire Square*, 67.

¹²⁵ Pullinger compiled geographical and antiquarian notes relating to Greece and Asia Minor, and a journal of a journey from Aleppo to Constantinople, in 1738–1739. British Library. Add MS 4824, f1.

¹²⁶ François-Marie Arouet.

¹²⁷ Frangakis-Syrett, ‘Trade practices in Aleppo’.

¹²⁸ *Aleppo observed*, 219.

¹²⁹ [Thomas Dawes], ‘A register of births, deaths and marriages at Aleppo, 1756–1800’, in George Sherwood (ed.), *The Pedigree Register* 3 (1914–1915), 214–7, 225–7, 292–3, 326–7; 4 (1916), 385.

¹³⁰ Most of these coin collections were acquired by William Hunter (Appendix 2).

¹³¹ At least in 1753 (SP 110/74). Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, suggested that the Russells lived outside the *khān* but their account would indicate they lived opposite John Free in the *khān*.

¹³² Boogert, *Capitulations*, 207.

¹³³ Davis, *Devonshire Square*, 91.

could trade in textiles from Aleppo.¹³⁴ Whilst it is not clear whether physicians attached to the Levant Company were paid salaries or made private arrangements with the factories and local clients, they were certainly not allowed to engage in trade whilst in their posts.

2.2.3 Leisure and entertainment

Although Alexander and Patrick had little time for leisure pursuits themselves,¹³⁵ factors visited the hills at Bylan (Bīlān) and the coastal ports of Tripoli and Latakia, shot woodcock in the gardens in spring or hunted with greyhounds and falcons. As Patrick described, ‘the Franks, in general, live together in harmony. They entertain reciprocally; they have card parties, weekly concerts, and sometimes, in the Carnaval [sic], masquerades.’¹³⁶ On his visit to Aleppo in 1778 Capper noted that the European community had built a small theatre where French and Italian comedies and even operas were performed¹³⁷ but whether or not this existed before Patrick left in 1772 is unclear. Few undertook research: ‘[mercantile Gentlemen] often possessed the advantage of speaking Arabic, but were little versed in Natural History and Antiquities.’¹³⁸ The Russells were entertained lavishly when the harvest was rich and food prices low.¹³⁹

There was a major change between 1740 and 1771: when Alexander served in Aleppo all the factors were there as bachelors but by the time Patrick left there were several wives and other female relatives living there.¹⁴⁰ Alexander and Patrick also socialized with various European consuls and their families, including the French consul from 1750 to 1768, Pierre Thomas, who held musical evenings.¹⁴¹ The explorer James Bruce (1730–1794), whilst guest of M. Belleville [Belville], acting

¹³⁴ *Aleppo observed*, 96, citing BL Add. MS 54932 fol. 559 Drummond to (William) Russell 29 June 1749/50 (two bales of cloth) and MS 54933 fol. 28 Drummond to (William) Russell 2 March 1749/50 (silk).

¹³⁵ *Aleppo*², i, xiii; Starkey, ‘No myopic mirage’.

¹³⁶ Patrick recorded that the French consul, Le Chevalier Laurent d’Arvieux, forbade masking in 1681 during the Carnival, ‘on account of the young gentlemen going about the streets, at night, dressed in female habits’ (*Aleppo*², ii, 12), i.e. *Mémoires du Chevalier d’Arvieux*, éd. Le Père Jean-Baptiste Labat, 6 vols (1683; Paris: Charles-Jean-Baptiste Delespine, 1735).

¹³⁷ James Capper, *Observations on the passage to India, through Egypt, and across the Great Desert* (London: W. Faden et al., 1783), 177–8.

¹³⁸ *Aleppo*², i, ix.

¹³⁹ *Aleppo*¹, 100–15; *Aleppo*², i, 73–94, 115–19, 143–4, 172–7. *Aleppo observed*, 103–4, on diets.

¹⁴⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 11. Thomas Dawes listed many of the families in his register, 1756–1800.

¹⁴¹ Bodman, *Political factions in Aleppo*, 104–5, 147.

consul in 1769, was entertained at Thomas's house in 1768.¹⁴² On his arrival in Aleppo in January 1768, Bruce became dangerously ill, probably stricken down by malaria. Patrick was consulted; as Bruce recovered, Patrick taught him the rudiments of medical care that were to come in useful to Bruce in Ethiopia.¹⁴³ Bruce wrote from Sidon to the Scottish engraver Sir Robert Strange (1721–1792) on 16 May 1768: 'We are entirely unprovided either with surgeons or physicians and had it not been for the great humanity and attention of Dr Russell at Aleppo I believe my works would have been all posthumous.'¹⁴⁴ Patrick and Bruce remained friends for years in London.

The Russells were friends of John Vankerchem, Dutch consul until his death in Aleppo in 1760. On his arrival from Mosul on 6 June 1766,¹⁴⁵ the explorer Carsten Niebuhr (1733–1815) stayed with Nicolaas van Maseijk (d.1784, also spelt van Maseyk), the Dutch consul in Aleppo from 1763 to 1784.¹⁴⁶ 'Here he remained some time, during which he acquired the friendship of the celebrated Dr Patrick Russel [sic], from whom he received much information respecting the Kurds and Turkomans, whose principal chiefs frequently visited our distinguished countryman at his house.'¹⁴⁷ After Niebuhr returned to Europe in 1767, Patrick kept in touch with his 'esteemed friend'.¹⁴⁸ In a letter of 1768 to Niebuhr, Patrick mentions a paper on geography sent to him by Niebuhr and an account of 'Turcoman clans' that Patrick had obtained, including a list of Turkmen tribes in Aleppo.¹⁴⁹

The Russells would have met many of the travellers who visited Aleppo as many would have stayed at the Khān al-Jumruk. Of the travellers who crossed the

¹⁴² James Bruce, *Travels to discover the source of the Nile*, 5 vols (1790; Edinburgh: James Ballantyre, 1804), 58, *Aleppo*², i, 362, 440.

¹⁴³ Bruce, *Travels*, i, lxxxiv–lxxxvi, 24, 58. Boogert, 'Patrick Russell', 252. Bruce was a Freemason.

¹⁴⁴ James Dennistoun, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange, Knt., Engraver* (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1855), ii, 46.

¹⁴⁵ Thorkild Hansen, *Arabia Felix* (London: Collins, 1964); Barthold Georg Niebuhr, *The life of Carsten Niebuhr, the Oriental traveller*, appendix by J.D. Michaelis (Edinburgh: T. Clark, 1836). Barthold visited Patrick in London and the Russell family in Edinburgh.

¹⁴⁶ Hussein I. El-Mudarris and Olivier Salmon, *Les Relations entre les Pays-Bas et la Syrie ottoman au XVII^e siècle* (Aleppo: aleppoart, 2007), 66). Boogert, 'Patrick Russell', 251; idem, 'European patronage'.

¹⁴⁷ James Augustus St John, *The lives of celebrated travellers* (New York: J. & J. Harper, 1832), iii, 144.

¹⁴⁸ *Aleppo*², i, vii, 12.

¹⁴⁹ 'Niebuhr (who had it from Patrick Russell of Aleppo)' (Carsten Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie et en d'autres Pays circonvoisins; traduit de l'allemand* (1776; Amsterdam: S.J. Baalde, 1780), ii, 341). Patrick's list of tribes appeared in F.W. Hasluck, 'Heterodox tribes of Asia Minor', *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 51 (1921), 310–42 (325–42). Boogert, 'Patrick Russell', 251–2.

Syrian Desert,¹⁵⁰ Alexander probably met John Henry Grose (d.1783), an EIC civil servant who went to Bombay in 1750.¹⁵¹ John Carmichael knew Alexander; when encamped near the village of Irzi on 6 November 1751. Carmichael reported: ‘Had my friend [Alexander] seen him’ (‘a great fat fellow, a Sheikh’, who came to Carmichael’s tent in search of a doctor), ‘I am persuaded he would admit my knowledge in therapeuticks.’¹⁵² Several who crossed the Syria Desert *en route* for Basra and India ‘had the pleasure of being acquainted’¹⁵³ with Patrick in Aleppo, including an army officer Joseph Émīn (1726–1809), an Armenian nationalist born in Persia, who grew up in Calcutta;¹⁵⁴ and Surgeon Edward Ives (d.1786),¹⁵⁵ who was entertained with ‘great hospitality’ by consul Drummond, Patrick and other merchants in Aleppo on 6 August 1758 and was treated to wines, punch and ‘excellent’ beefsteaks.¹⁵⁶

2.2.4 Leaving Aleppo

From 1756, until Alexander’s death in 1768, Patrick forwarded many emendations from Aleppo to his brother for the development of the work but the whereabouts of these notes is not now known. In return, Alexander sent items back to Patrick.¹⁵⁷ Patrick left Aleppo in 1771. Patrick would have maintained his connections with the flourishing medical school and botanical garden in Edinburgh, where its students were subsequently encouraged to make their own natural history collections. It was therefore not surprising that, on the recommendation of John Hope, Professor of Botany and *Materia Medica* in Edinburgh,¹⁵⁸ Adam Freer, MD (1747–1811), was

¹⁵⁰ Abraham Parsons, *Travels in Asia and Africa* (London: Longman et al., 1808), 75.

¹⁵¹ Author of the popular *A voyage to the East Indies* (London: S. Hooper and A. Morley, 1757).

¹⁵² John Carmichael, ‘A journal from Aleppo, over the Desart to Basserah’, 21 October 1771 [actually 1751], ms. British Library.

¹⁵³ Carruthers, *Desert route to India*, 58.

¹⁵⁴ Joseph Émīn, *The life and adventures of Joseph Émīn* (London: [s.n.], 1792), 570–2, on friendship with Patrick.

¹⁵⁵ Edward Ives, *A voyage from England to India* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1773), 370.

¹⁵⁶ Ives, *Voyage*, 370.

¹⁵⁷ SP 110/74. Cover letter from Alexander, in Walbrook, London to Edwards, 20 December 1762, for a parcel of newspapers sent to Patrick in Aleppo (Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, 147).

¹⁵⁸ Under the patronage of John Stuart, third Earl of Bute, John Hope succeeded Charles Alston, MD (d.1760; Edinburgh, first Professor of Botany and *Materia Medica* from 1738) to the Chair in 1760; King’s Botanist in Scotland and Regius Keeper of the Royal Garden at Holyrood House, Edinburgh. Hope, one of the earliest teachers of the Linnaean system in Edinburgh where he was Patrick’s fellow student; studied botany under Bernard de Jussieu in the Jardin du Roi (now called Jardin de Plantes),

appointed physician in Aleppo to replace Patrick.¹⁵⁹ Archival accounts record Freer's initial inexperience in 1772 which led to protests from the factors in Aleppo.¹⁶⁰ Freer eventually settled into the post and served in Aleppo until 1781¹⁶¹ during which time he sent back specimens of flora and fauna and other information to Patrick in London.¹⁶² In March 1781 Freer accompanied Sir Eyles Irwin (1751–1817), of the Madras Establishment, from Aleppo across the Syrian Desert towards India.¹⁶³ This section has provided brief background information about the Russells in Aleppo. What they subsequently wrote about the city is available in the two editions of *Aleppo*.

2.3 After Aleppo: medical and social networks

In the sophisticated and rapidly expanding urban environment of cosmopolitan London, Alexander and Patrick completed writing and/or editing *Aleppo*, so it will be important to appreciate various pressures that influenced them on their return from Aleppo.

London grew rapidly in the eighteenth century as the most important metropolis in Britain, with an increasingly varied and ethnically diverse population. The British Museum opened in 1756 and to the public by 1759.¹⁶⁴ Britain's greatest authors, Grub-street writers, scientists, physicians and philosophers lived and published their works in London and many of them were Scottish. Yet even well-published *literati* of the Scottish Enlightenment were not fully integrated into London's cosmopolitan society, for the English could be virulently anti-Scottish as a result of the political climate after the Jacobite rebellion of 1745 and during a turbulent campaign against Lord Bute, Prime Minister from 1762 to 1763. As a

Paris, where he learnt about new methods of plant classification that were influenced by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort's pre-Linnaean *Histoire des plantes* (Paris: de l'Imprimerie Royale, 1698).

¹⁵⁹ Sometimes spelt Frier, Frere, Frer, or even Friar. After presenting a whimsical thesis on syphilis, Freer graduated from the University of Edinburgh in 1767 and was a protégé of Hope; Freer wrote on ring worm when he worked in Bengal but disappointingly never produced any major publications.

¹⁶⁰ Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, 152–7.

¹⁶¹ Freer in Aleppo: SP 105/343, SP 110/58, 59; Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, 157–9.

¹⁶² See Chapter 6 on Freer's natural history collections.

¹⁶³ Eyles Irwin, *A series of adventures in the course of a voyage up the Red-Sea* (London: J. Dodsley, 1787), ii, 290, 347, 381. EIC colleague of Claud's who like him protested about Lord Pigot's death.

¹⁶⁴ Matthew Maty encouraged various eminent friends to become donors including Alexander, Fothergill, Pringle, William and John Hunter, Thomas Percival, William Watson and Thomas Hollis, the literary editor of Lincoln's Inn.

result, in London Scottish ‘men of letters’ and even physicians trained in Scotland tended to socialize almost exclusively as a group.¹⁶⁵ The Russells would also have socialized with kinsmen, other medical colleagues and merchants who had returned from Aleppo — there were even Aleppines in London who established chess clubs,¹⁶⁶ Turkish baths and coffee houses.

2.3.1 Family

It is hard to imagine that Alexander had much time to develop a new edition of *Aleppo* after 1756. On 15 April 1756 Alexander married Mary (*bap.* 26 May 1720, *d.* 1790),¹⁶⁷ the daughter of Collet Mawhood (d. 1757/1758?).¹⁶⁸ Mawhood, second cousin of the poet Alexander Pope,¹⁶⁹ was a wealthy druggist and dealer in tea whose premises stood at the corner of Castle Court in the Strand, St Martin-in-the-Fields; coincidentally or conveniently, he served on the Board of Governors for St Thomas’s Hospital from 1744.¹⁷⁰ Unlike Alexander, Patrick apparently never married.

Alexander’s older brother, William, and Patrick’s younger brother, Claud, lived in London at various times in this period: some snippets reflect their extraordinary lives. In 1751 Claud acquired a post with the EIC as a writer in Madras, no doubt through his father’s Argathelian¹⁷¹ and professional contacts and the patronage of the Scottish legal elite. In 1772, Claud was Collector and Military Paymaster in 1770 in India,¹⁷² In 1774 when Madras and Bengal came under direct

¹⁶⁵ Sher, *Enlightenment and the book*, 128–30, 147.

¹⁶⁶ For example, Phillip Stamma (b. 1705), a chess player from Aleppo and an interpreter of Oriental languages in London from about 1737 to the 1770s.

¹⁶⁷ <http://genforum.genealogy.com/mawhood/messages/2.html> (24 August 2012) states that she married Alexander on 5 March 1761.

¹⁶⁸ Her mother was Rebecca Toriano (d. 1762). Mary’s brother was Captain Parravicini Mawhood (*bap.* 1721), called ‘Captain Maud’ by the Scottish diarist James Boswell (1740–1795). Mary’s death in Kensington on 30 July 1790 was announced in *The Scots Magazine* 52 (1790), 464.

¹⁶⁹ Pat Rogers, *The Alexander Pope encyclopaedia* (London: Greenwood, 2004), 145.

¹⁷⁰ St Thomas’s Hospital: Minutes of the Court of Governors (11 July 1744 (LMTHMG553020083); List of takers-in of patients 24 June 1756 (LMTHLT551010301).

¹⁷¹ Argathelian: of the eighteenth-century Scottish Whig pro-Union political party that approved the political influence of the house of Argyll: under John Campbell, second Duke of Argyll and his younger brother, the Earl of Islay, later the third Duke. George K. McGilvery, *East India patronage and the British state: the Scottish elite and politics in the eighteenth century* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008), 109, 174. The second Duke of Argyll was a keen botanist and patron to many eminent writers including William Robertson, Tobias Smollett and Samuel Johnson.

¹⁷² Claud began his career in India in 1751. Sheriff of Madraspatnam 1755, 1756; Mayor of Madraspatnam 1759, 1765; Collector and Military Paymaster 1770 in India; 1771–1778 Member of the EIC Madras Council

British rule that was to last until 1947, Claud was living in the Parish of St George, Hanover Square,¹⁷³ but returned to India until 1777 and again from 1781 to 1789.¹⁷⁴ In 1771–1772, on the recommendation of his kinsman Claud Alexander and colleague David Anderson, protégés of Warren Hastings (1732–1818),¹⁷⁵ Claud brought his Indian secretary and personal Persian language teacher, *munshī* Ismā‘īl, from Bengal to London and Bath.¹⁷⁶ *Munshī* Ismā‘īl was accompanied by two servants of his own and wrote an account of his visit in Persian.

Meanwhile their brother William, an amateur mathematician and astronomer, helped Admiral Campbell (1720–1790)¹⁷⁷ select ‘a large apparatus of instruments’ to enable Bruce to record the Transit of Venus in June 1769.¹⁷⁸ Bruce commissioned William, via a letter from Patrick in Aleppo to Alexander in London in 1758,¹⁷⁹ to provide a reflecting telescope made by Bird or Short.¹⁸⁰ William invented a perpetual mechanical log for recording distance and latitude which was tested on a voyage to

¹⁷³ According to court records, Claud’s servant, George Chevys, stole seven pair of silk stockings, value £4, and two pair of lace ruffles, value £20 and pawned them. He was sentenced to seven years’ deportation or may even have been hanged (Old Bailey Sessions: Sessions Papers, Justices’ Working Documents 6 July 1774, London Lives reference: t17740706–27).

¹⁷⁴ On 16 October 1777, a marriage settlement was drawn up between Claud and Leonora Pigot (illegitimate daughter of Lord Pigot), just before Claud embarked for London to testify in the Pigot case. In 1776 Leonora’s sister, Sophia (1763–1834), also illegitimate, married Hon. Edward Monckton (174–1832) then a senior merchant with the EIC.

¹⁷⁵ Hasting: first Governor-General of India (1773–1785); patron of the Asiatic Society of Bengal founded by Sir William Jones 1784. Impeached for corruption 1787 at the instigation of Edmund Burke (who possibly favoured Claud for the job) but acquitted in 1795 (Jeremy Bernstein, *The Dawning of the Raj* (Chicago: Ivan Dee, 2000)).

¹⁷⁶ On *munshī* Ismā‘īl, ‘Tarikhi Jadid’, an unpublished manuscript owned by the estate of Simon Digby (d.2010), author of ‘An eighteenth-century narrative of a journey from Bengal to England: Munshi Ismail’s “New History”’, in Christopher Shackle (ed.), *Urdu and Muslim South Asia* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1989), 49–65; Michael H. Fisher, ‘From India to England and back: early Indian travel narratives for Indian readers’, *Huntington Library Quarterly* 70/1 (2007), 153–72 (164–5).

¹⁷⁷ Boogert, ‘Patrick Russell’, 258. Vice-Admiral John Campbell, later Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Newfoundland.

¹⁷⁸ Bruce, *Travels*, i, 15. The Royal Society sent expeditions to view the Transit of Venus, including Cook’s *Endeavour* to the Pacific (August 1768–March 1771), accompanied by Banks and Solander (Edward Smith, *The life of Sir Joseph Banks* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 14; Dennistoun, *Sir Robert Strange*, ii, 49–50; *Aleppo observed*, 16–17).

¹⁷⁹ Boswell recorded correspondence in 1758 from Patrick at Aleppo to Alexander in London communicated to Boswell by William (Boswell, ‘Some account of with regard to the travels of James Bruce, Esq. of Kinnaird’, *The Scots Magazine* 48 (1786), 165–171 (166)).

¹⁸⁰ Unfortunately, William Russell was ill with gout and was taking the waters in Bath at the time (Boswell, *Scots Magazine*, 166). William later sent Bruce an excellent reflecting telescope, the last Mr Short ever made and an achromatic telescope by Dolland (Bruce, *Travels*, i, 63).

the North Pole in 1773.¹⁸¹ The brothers would have periodically met family in Scotland, perhaps even in Rotterdam, although evidence of visits have not yet been found.

2.3.2 Physicians in London

On 16 January 1760, Alexander was appointed Physician to St Thomas's (then near the present site of Fenchurch Street railway station), a clinical and a lecturing post¹⁸² which he held until his death.¹⁸³ 'Here he had a short but honourable career, being highly valued for his ability, the liberal and easy method of his teaching, and the kindness of his character.'¹⁸⁴

Like other Physicians there, Alexander accepted a few students for short periods of tuition. For six months one of his pupils was Samuel Bard MD (1742–1821) of New York. Bard was recommended to Alexander by Fothergill; his father was a close friend of Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), the father of the American Enlightenment, who, in turn, was a friend of Fothergill.¹⁸⁵ Bard worked as Alexander's assistant from the spring 1761 before studying in Edinburgh where he graduated with honours in 1765 and began his practice in New York in 1766.¹⁸⁶ Ridiculed by Smollett in his picaresque novel *Peregrine Pickle*,¹⁸⁷ the poet-physician Mark Akenside also worked alongside Alexander and was the author of the

¹⁸¹ C.J. Phipps, Baron Mugarve, *Voyage to the North Pole undertaken by His Majesty's command, 1773* (London: J. Nourse, 1774), 97, with an appendix about William's invention but did not recommend it. Ann Savours, "'A very interesting point in geography': the 1773 Phipps expedition towards the North Pole", *Arctic* 37/4 (1884), 402–28.

¹⁸² *Aleppo observed*, 38–39, explains why Alexander needed to accept this post.

¹⁸³ 28 March 1759 appointed Assistant Physician, replacing Mark Akenside who had been appointed Physician (St Thomas's Hospital: Minutes of the Court of Governors, LMTHMG553020221). He replaced Thomas Reeve who had resigned on 16 January 1760 (Minutes, LMTHMG553020233).

¹⁸⁴ Hingston Fox, *Dr John Fothergill and his friends* (London: Macmillan, 1919), 120.

¹⁸⁵ Jane Bauer Donegan, *Women and men midwives* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978), 102.

¹⁸⁶ Bard was also instructed there by Drs Joseph Else, John Hunter, Colin Mckenzie (on midwifery), the surgeon, Thomas Smith, James Grieve the translator of Stepan Petrovich Krasheninnikov, *The history of Kamtschatka, and the Kurilski Islands, with the countries adjacent*, transl. James Grieve ([London]: T. Jefferys, 1764), about the 1733–1743 expedition into Asia sponsored by Emperor Peter I and Empress Elizabeth. <http://faqs.org/health/bios/16/Samuel-Bard.html> (10.10. 2006), In addition, 'Dr Russel of London', probably Alexander, examined Dr Thomas Dimsdale's thesis in Glasgow with Dr Munkley of London on 30 July 1761 (Anderson, *Officers and graduates*, 131).

¹⁸⁷ A comic and caustic portrayal of eighteenth-century European society published in 1751 and revised in 1758. H.S. Buck, *A study in Smollett, chiefly 'Peregrine Pickle'* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1925), ix.

popular poet *The Pleasures of the Imagination*.¹⁸⁸ Another pupil was John Coakley Lettsom(e) MD (1744–1815),¹⁸⁹ who found Akenside to be ‘the most supercilious and unfeeling physician that he had hitherto known’.¹⁹⁰ Alexander ‘was as condescending as Akenside was petulant. Akenside, however, would sometimes condescend to explain a case of disease to the pupils, which always appeared sagacious; and, notwithstanding his irritable temper, he was more followed than Russell by the Pupils.’¹⁹¹ Physicians at St Thomas’s were expected to be gentlemen: cultural and socially sophisticated as well as having medical knowledge.



FIGURE 2. The march of the medical militants to the siege of Warwick Lane Castle in the year 1767 (London: R. Sayer and J. Smith, 1768).
Fothergill is on horseback and Alexander is in the row behind him.

On 30 September 1760 Alexander was admitted as Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians (LRCP). Unless physicians qualified from Oxford or

¹⁸⁸ Robin Dix, *The literary career of Mark Akenside* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2006), 20, 313–27; G.S. Rousseau, *Perilous enlightenment* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), 109–37.

¹⁸⁹ Lettsom founded the Medical Society of London in 1773.

¹⁹⁰ Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the life and writings of the late John Coakley Lettsom* (London: Longman et al., 1817), i, 22.

¹⁹¹ Pettigrew, *Memoirs*, i, 23–24.

Cambridge they could not register as full Fellows, unless they were examined and approved by the Royal College. Therefore several eminent physicians, including Alexander and Fothergill,¹⁹² set up an alternative association in 1764, the Society for Collegiate (or Licentiate) Physicians,¹⁹³ which first met in January 1767 at the Crown and Anchor in the Strand.¹⁹⁴ Irritated by this exclusion, they took part in the ‘Siege of Warwick Lane’ (Figure 2), where the Royal College had its headquarters, in an attempt to break the deadlock.¹⁹⁵ According to Munk’s *Roll*, Patrick was not a member of the Royal College of Physicians (London).

In eighteenth-century London physicians relied on running successful private practices for upper and middle classes for their livelihoods. Alexander’s was in the City.¹⁹⁶ Returning first to Edinburgh, Patrick was persuaded by Fothergill to move to London in 1772 where he probably ran a medical practice. They were probably supported by Alexander’s brother, William, who was described in 1759 as the ‘Secretary to the Turkey Company or of Sword-Blade Coffee House, Birchin Lane’¹⁹⁷ and as ‘a merchant in Crutched Friars and a member of the Turkey Company’. The former, at 10 Birchin Lane, off Lombard Street, near the Carolina Coffee House, was frequented mainly by ‘Turkish’ merchants. Coffee houses played their part in the emergent financial institutions of the City.

The Russells’ social circles revolved around William and his network of Turkish merchants and other physicians, especially Dissenters such as Fothergill, who had trained in Edinburgh. For many Scots specific clubs and coffee-houses, such as the British Coffee-House, off Cockspur Street, became cultural and physical centres, reinforcing a sense of Scottish community and identity for Scots living in

¹⁹² In June 1767, 23 Licentiates applied to become Fellows of the Royal College but were refused. I. Waddington, ‘The struggle to reform the Royal College of Physicians, 1767–1771: a sociological analysis’, *Medical History* 17/2 (1973), 107–26; Betsy Copping Corner, ‘Dr Melchisedech Broadbrim and the Playwright’, *Journal of the History of Medicine* 7 (1952), 122–35.

¹⁹³ Susan C. Lawrence, *Charitable knowledge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 264.

¹⁹⁴ Fox, *John Fothergill*, 146–7. Lloyd G. Stevenson, ‘The siege of Warwick Lane: together with a brief history of the Society of Collegiate Physicians (1767–1798)’, *Journal of the History of Medicine* 7 (1952), 105–21 (110).

¹⁹⁵ Stevenson, ‘The siege of Warwick Lane’, 110.

¹⁹⁶ *Aleppo observed*, 48.

¹⁹⁷ Anon., *The universal pocket companion* (London: L. Hawes et al., 1767), 164.

London.¹⁹⁸ Their friends included physicians, gardeners and naturalists,¹⁹⁹ colleagues from Edinburgh²⁰⁰ and especially those who trained with William Cullen FRS FRSE FRCPE FPSG (1710–1790).²⁰¹ Patrick's social circle also included Bruce and EIC colleagues including Hastings and the surveyor, James Rennell (1742–1830).²⁰² Patrick also attended *conversazione* held by Sir Joseph Banks GCB PRS (1743–1820), dinner parties and musical evenings hosted by the musicologist, Dr Charles Burney FRS (1726–1814), and his daughter Fanny (1752–1840)²⁰³ — who described Patrick in 1775 as ‘a learned, and likewise a travelled physician, who seems droll and clever; but who is so very short-sighted’.²⁰⁴

Science, including medicine, during the Enlightenment was dominated by scientific and professional societies that stimulated research and publications. Alexander was a member of the ‘Medical Club’, probably founded by Fothergill in 1741. With Fothergill, Alexander set up the ‘Medical Society or ‘Society of Physicians’,²⁰⁵ as a continuation of the Edinburgh Medical Society.²⁰⁶ Alexander

¹⁹⁸ Alexander knew Johnson, Boswell and the eminent Dr Richard Mead (1673–1754). John Lawrence Abbott, ‘Samuel Johnson and “The life of Dr Richard Mead”’, *John Rylands Library Bulletin* 54 (1971), 12–27; Sher, *Enlightenment and the book*, 130, 147.

¹⁹⁹ Others included Lettsom, Sir Everard Home FRS (1756–1832) (John Hunter's brother-in-law); naturalists John Ellis FRS (1710–1776), Dan Solander (1733–1782) and Peter Collinson FRS (1694–1768).

²⁰⁰ Fothergill, Pitcairn, Cuming in Dorchester, Sir John Pringle FRS (1707–1782) and many other Scottish medical graduates including the playwright Oliver Goldsmith (1730–1774), Smollett, the great physician William Hunter FRS (1718–1783) and surgeon John Hunter FRS (1728–1793). Fenwick Beekman, ‘William Hunter's Early Medical Education: i. His studies under William Cullen’, *Journal of the History of Medicine* 5 (Winter 1950), 72–84; C. Helen Brock, ‘Dr William Hunter's Museum, Glasgow University’, *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History* 9 (1980), 403–12, mentions that Alexander and Patrick helped William Hunter from Aleppo; eadem, ‘Hunter, William (1718–1783)’, *ODNB*.

²⁰¹ A. Doig, et al., *William Cullen and the eighteenth-century medical world* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), on medical training in Scotland.

²⁰² Aleppo², ii, 423. Janet Starkey, ‘James Rennell and his scientific world of observation’, in Katherine Salahi (ed.), *Knowledge is Light* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 38–57. Patrick helped Rennell's neighbour, William Vincent, headmaster of Westminster School, with Arabic etymology for Arrian, *The voyage of Nearchus from the Indus to the Euphrates* (London: T. Caddell, 1797).

²⁰³ Later Madame d'Arblay.

²⁰⁴ Fanny Burney, *Diary and letters of Madame D'Arblay (1778–1840)* (London: Henry Colburn, 1842–1846), 320: eadem, *The early diary of Frances Burney, 1768–1778*, ed. Annie Raine Ellis (London: Bell, [1889]), 31. Patrick was also deaf in old age.

²⁰⁵ Founded in 1750 or 1752?. Fox, *John Fothergill*, 120; *Aleppo observed*, 39–44. Fothergill is credited with setting up the Society for Hospital Physicians in 1752: possibly the same society.

²⁰⁶ Its small group of members, including John Clephane MD (d.1758), William Hunter, Gilbert Thompson MD and Solander, met at the Mitre Tavern, Fleet Street, on alternate Monday evenings. Fox, *John Fothergill*, 142.

contributed to its *Medical Observations and Inquiries*²⁰⁷ with papers on palsy,²⁰⁸ hydatids,²⁰⁹ general emphysema,²¹⁰ the use of corrosive sublimate²¹¹ and of mezereon²¹² for the treatment of syphilis.²¹³ For his part, Patrick formed the Pow-wow Club with the distinguished Scottish surgeon John Hunter FRS (1728–1793) and others, after he returned from India in 1789.²¹⁴ Members met once a month at the Thatched House Tavern, St James's Street. Initiated by Patrick as a forum to discuss natural history, in reality, it was another exclusive gentlemen's dining club.²¹⁵

Scholars of the Enlightenment were gentlemen, a club of cosmopolitan citizens who embraced the world. They formed a 'Republic of Letters'²¹⁶ that was not limited by loyalty to any particular locality.²¹⁷ rather, they shared enlightened ideas and ideals. In 1762, Alexander was elected member of the Royal Society Club, a gentlemen's dining club. William was elected in 1770 and was its Treasurer for many years.²¹⁸ Patrick became a member of this dining club in 1777.²¹⁹ Membership lapsed if a member did not attend regular functions. Thus it was not surprising that Patrick attended a dinner in 1793, the last public gathering that Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) attended.²²⁰ Through the traveller and classical scholar James Wood

²⁰⁷ French title: *Observations et Recherches Médicales par une Société de Médecins de Londres. Ouvrage servant de suite aux Essais et Observations de Médecine de la Société d'Édimbourg.*

²⁰⁸ Palsy: 'paralysis, especially that which is accompanied by involuntary tremors' (ODE).

²⁰⁹ Hydatid: 'a cyst containing watery fluid, in particular one formed by and containing a tapeworm larva' (ODE).

²¹⁰ Emphysema: 'a condition in which the air sacs of the lungs are damaged and enlarged, causing breathlessness' (ODE).

²¹¹ Mercuric chloride (HgCl₂).

²¹² Arabic *māzaryūn*; 'Eurasian shrub with fragrant purplish flowers and poisonous red berries' (ODE).

²¹³ E.g. 'Account of two Paralytic Cases', *Medical Observations and Inquiries* n 1 (1755), 296, and others listed in the bibliography.

²¹⁴ Possibly Patrick was also elected Fellow of the Linnean Society of London, founded in 1788 by Sir James Edward Smith, a fellow Scot and former pupil of John Hope.

²¹⁵ Bransby Blake Cooper, *The life of Sir Astley Cooper, Bart* (London: J.W. Parker, 1843), ii, 239–43.

²¹⁶ 'Republic of Letters': long-distance letter-writing community among intellectuals of (but distinct from) the Age of Enlightenment.

²¹⁷ Peter Gay, *The Enlightenment*, 2 vols (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1966 and 1969).

²¹⁸ Succeeding Dan Solander (d.1782), William Russell (d.1787) was Treasurer 1782–August 1787, despite failing health from 1785. The post was assumed by William Marsden 1787–1803. Geikie, *Royal Society Club*, 107, 154–5, 176, 181.

²¹⁹ Geikie, *Royal Society Club*, 79, 104, 136–7, 171, 189.

²²⁰ Geikie, *Royal Society Club*, 199. Edward Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, 6 vols (London: W. Strahan; and T. Cadell, 1776–1788).

(1717–1771), William was also associated with the Society of Dilettanti and its extensive group of noblemen and scholars who had made the Grand Tour.²²¹

Furthermore, the three brothers belonged to the prestigious Royal Society which provided an important intellectual network for men of science in London and abroad. Alexander, ‘a Gentleman well skilled in Natural History’, was elected Fellow in May 1756 having been nominated by ten eminent Fellows.²²² William and Patrick were nominated in 1777.²²³ The Royal Society provided access to the latest scientific research and to a wide circle of *literati*. For example, in 1762, Alexander was in touch with his mutual friends, Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), a major figure of the American Enlightenment, and the famous Scottish Enlightenment philosopher, David Hume (1711–1776), about an article written by Franklin for the Royal Society on lightning conductors, which were invented by Franklin in 1749.²²⁴ Alexander and Patrick’s Royal Society Fellowships were probably important stimuli to the production of a new edition of *Aleppo*.

2.3.3 Interlude in India

Whilst there is no space to describe Patrick’s Indian experiences as physician and EIC Botanist-Naturalist in India between 1781 and 1789, a brief overview is provided here as they must have informed his edition of *Aleppo*. Between 1781 and 1789 Patrick accompanied his brother Claud to India and

remained in London till the latter end of the year 1781, when affection for his brother, Mr Claud Russell, whose precarious state of health at that time required constant and particular attention, induced him to sacrifice his flattering prospects in the capital, and accompany his brother to the East Indies.²²⁵

²²¹ The Society of Dilettanti: a dining club for gentlemen who had made a Grand Tour, founded in 1734. Its rulebook recommended that members kept a very minute journal, to be transmitted under cover to William as Secretary to the Levant Company. Where are these journals now?

²²² Fothergill, *Peter Collinson*; Douglas D.C. Chambers, ‘Collinson, Peter (1694–1768)’, *ODNB*.

²²³ Stearns, ‘Fellows of the Royal Society’, 84–86. Patrick also appears in the list of ‘Indian Fellows’ of the Royal Society, the first Indian Fellow with a medical background. Patrick’s nominators included William, Alexander Dalrymple (the hydrographer, a friend of Claud’s in India), William Hunter, Solander, Banks and Georg Forster and his father (who both replaced Banks on Cook’s second voyage to the Pacific, 1772–1775).

²²⁴ Alexander is described as ‘who is not very expeditious in finishing any undertaking’ in a letter from Hume to Franklin, 10 May 1762 (*The writings of Benjamin Franklin* (New York: Haskell House, 1907), iv, 153–5, 157). Fothergill, Birch, Forster and Collinson were close friends of Franklin, corresponding on many subjects.

²²⁵ Cunningham, *Lives*, 119.

In 1781 Claud was appointed EIC administrator of Vishākhapatnam in the Northern Circars under the authority of Hastings.²²⁶ Hastings's administrators were encouraged to learn local languages and to draw on their knowledge of traditional cultural, legal and religious customs and institutions to govern in India. Thus Claud was proficient in Persian and Patrick learnt Telugu, one of the main south-central Dravidian languages of southern India. Unlike the Levant Company, the EIC, its better-known contemporary, became one of England's most prosperous overseas trading ventures, especially from the 1760s.²²⁷ At the same time, massive commercial trade developed across the Atlantic, some of it involving other members of the Russell clan.

Although Patrick finished the main draft of *Aleppo*² on the voyage out to India, he continued to add references and adjust the text until it was published in 1794. In India he also refined his *Treatise of the plague*,²²⁸ sending home a draft of this publication in 1787. Patrick resided mainly in Vishākhapatnam, in the Carnatic (Karnataka) where he practised first as a physician and then as Company Naturalist from 1785. Patrick, like his friend the Oriental scholar, Sir William Jones FRS (1746–1794), studied India's cultural legacy, languages, cultures and natural history. Patrick relied heavily on Indian knowledge, for example, as he gathered data about the habit and reputation of each snake he observed, and any local names, using Telugu-speaking informers.

On the recommendation of Sir Joseph Banks and the Governor of Madras, and persuaded by Claud, Patrick was appointed Botanist-Naturalist in November 1785 after the death of John Gerard König (1728–June 1785).²²⁹ König, was the first official EIC Naturalist in Madras, appointed in 1778,²³⁰ and was a pupil of the great

²²⁶ For relevant maps, see Appendix 1, Figures 19 and 20, below.

²²⁷ Alison Games, *The web of empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 50.

²²⁸ (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1791). No full, on-line version of Patrick's *Treatise on the plague*, yet available.

²²⁹ In 1774 König became naturalist to the Nawab of Arcot. Between 1773 and 1785 König served as a surgeon at the Danish trading post of Tranquebar where, with his fellow missionaries, König collected many botanical specimens. Patrick first met König there in June 1781. Bequeathed to Banks, König's papers remain unpublished in the Natural History Museum.

²³⁰ Patrick first disentangled König's scientific notes and catalogued economically useful plants of Madras. A pioneer in Indian zoology, Patrick devised an illustrated advisory notice about poisonous snakes. In the Coromandel, Patrick studied the habits of several snakes and their local names; determined three genera: *Boa*, *Coluber*, and *Anguis*. He identified *Katuka-rekula-poda* as venomous,

botanist, Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778).²³¹ Whilst in India, Patrick collected substantial material for a series of books on the fauna, especially snakes and fishes of the Coromandel, which were published on his return to London.²³²

Patrick was succeeded in the post as EIC Naturalist by William Roxburgh MD (1715–1815) who trained in Edinburgh under Hope. Banks was Roxburgh's patron and Patrick his mentor in India.²³³ Indeed, Patrick even wrote the Preface for Roxburgh's first study of Indian plants.²³⁴ Roxburgh was succeeded by his assistant, Nathaniel Wallich (1786–1854) who was appointed Superintendent of the EIC's Botanical Garden at Calcutta. Later, Patrick's botanic collections were given to Robert Wight MD (1796–1872),²³⁵ and then his collections were held in the Office of the Medical Board in Fort Saint George, the headquarters of the EIC in Madras.²³⁶

Aged sixty-five, Patrick embarked for London with Claud and Leonora in January 1789,²³⁷ returning to a Europe in turmoil as a result of the French Revolution (1789–1799).²³⁸ He continued to be interested in medical matters until his death.²³⁹

'next in toxicity only to the spectacled Indian Cobra *Naja naja*'. 'He testing the clinical features of bites of venomous snakes on dogs and chicken', and 'described the neurotoxic and haemorrhagic manifestations of viper venoms' (Anantanarayanan Raman, 'Patrick Russell and natural history of the Coromandel', *Journal of the Bombay Natural History Society* 107/2 (2010), 116–21).

²³¹ Carl von Linné.

²³² See bibliography, below, for full list.

²³³ Tim Robinson, *William Roxburgh: the founding father of Indian botany* (Edinburgh: Phillimore in association with the Royal Botanic Gardens, Edinburgh, 2008), 28–30, 92, 95, 110, 140, 221, 247, 256, 268.

²³⁴ Patrick Russell, Preface to William Roxburgh's *Plants of the coast of Coromandel ... under the direction of Sir Joseph Banks*. 5 vols (London: [s.n], 1795–1798; [to 1819]).

²³⁵ Robert Wight, trained in medicine, University of Edinburgh; surgeon in India; then assistant to Roxburgh; 1826 appointed as Madras Naturalist by the Glasgow-born Sir Thomas Munro, Governor of Madras. Henry Noltie, *Robert Wight and the Illustration of Indian Botany*, Hooker Lecture, Linnean Society, 2005.

²³⁶ In 1828, Stephen Lushington, then Governor of Madras, abolished the post of Naturalist. As a result, Wallich organised the despatch of the EIC collections of Indian plants, including those made by Roxburgh, Patrick and Wight, to India House, Leadenhall Street, London, to be added to Sir [Robert Kaye] Greville's collection in Frith Street (now held in Kew).

²³⁷ Curiously, Ēmīn, *Life and adventures* ii, 496, stated that Patrick sailed on the 'Queen Indiaman' from Calcutta about 12 November 1791.

²³⁸ Claud Russell (d.1820) aged 87, in Upper Norton Street, London. From 1795 he lived at Binfield Manor House, Berkshire.

²³⁹ For example, Patrick owned Desgenettes, *Histoire médicale de l'Armée d'Orient* (Paris: 1802) and Dewar's *Observations on diarrhoea and dysentery in the British campaign of Egypt* (1804).

2.3.4 Deaths and bequests

Opportunities for Alexander to write a new edition of *Aleppo* ended when he died suddenly of ‘putrid fever’²⁴⁰ after suffering for nine days, on 28 November 1768, at his house at 1 Church Court, Walbrook, attended by his lifelong friends, the physicians Fothergill and Pitcairn.²⁴¹ His executors²⁴² were his brother, William; the factor, John Free,²⁴³ and the merchant, Robert Scott of Portham [Puttenham] in Surrey.²⁴⁴ Although in Aleppo when Alexander died, Patrick was left some of his brother’s papers that he published in *Aleppo*.²⁴⁵

Fothergill presented ‘a very handsome appreciation’ to Alexander at a meeting of the Royal College of Physicians/Society of (Licentiate) Physicians on 2 October 1769²⁴⁶ in which Fothergill described Alexander:

the sensible, firm and upright friend, the able, honest and experienced physician, the pleasing, instructive companion of a social hour... rather tall than middling, well made, of a fresh sanguine complexion, grave in his deportment, chearful in conversation, active in the business of his profession and sagacious; an attentive and diligent observer, clear in his intention, manly in his prescriptions and in his conduct to the sick benevolent and discreet.²⁴⁷

Fothergill continued:

From the time he left England, to his return in February 1755, we had maintained a regular correspondence. I could not forbear mentioning to him repeatedly, how acceptable a more accurate account of Aleppo would be to this nation, and to all Europe; that no person would probably ever stand a chance of succeeding in it so happily as himself; that his long residence there, his knowledge of the language, the manners, the customs, diseases of the place, the great credit he had acquired amongst all ranks, by an able, diligent, and disinterested exertion of his faculties amongst them, his influence over the pascha, and the respect paid him by the Turks themselves, would facilitate every inquiry.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁰ Putrid fever: diphtheria, epidemic typhus, or an acute, infectious disease transmitted by lice and fleas, aka ‘hospital fever’.

²⁴¹ *Gentlemen’s magazine* 38 (1768), 109. The position was filled by his friend, Richard Huck (Saunders), MD (1720–1785) (Minutes, Court of Governors, 14 December 1768) (LMTHMG553020337).

²⁴² Prob 11/944.

²⁴³ If Davis, *Devonshire Square*, 91, is right, Free, Alexander and Patrick’s neighbour in Aleppo, died there in 1755, so this might have been his son, also called John Free.

²⁴⁴ Prob 11/944, fols 264^r.

²⁴⁵ *Gentleman’s Magazine* (1768), 109; Munk, *Roll*, ii, 230.

²⁴⁶ Fothergill, *Essay*.

²⁴⁷ Fothergill, *A complete collection of the medical and philosophical works* (London: J. Walker, 1781), iii, 660–1.

²⁴⁸ Fothergill, *Essay*, in Lettsom (ed.), *Works*, iii, 374.

Patrick lived at various addresses in London, including Queen Ann Street West from 1775,²⁴⁹ but died at his house in Weymouth Street in the Parish of Mary-le-bow on 2 July 1805:

deeply lamented by the literary world, and all who personally knew him, ag'd 79, Doctor Patrick Russell, FRS author of a valuable *Treatise on the Plague*, founded on his own extensive experience; of an improved edition of his brother's *History of Aleppo*; and of other estimable works in natural history, a study which he continued to prosecute with indefatigable zeal till almost the last hour of his life.²⁵⁰

There were short obituary notes,²⁵¹ and a close colleague, Sir Everard Home FRS (1756–1832), wrote a memorial in the form of an appendix to *A continuation of an account of Indian Serpents* by Patrick. This was reproduced in the *European Magazine*²⁵² and the *Scot's Magazine* in 1811 in which Patrick was described as the 'Author of the *History of Aleppo*'.²⁵³ This memorial contained useful snippets about the physician-naturalist, some of them provided by his brother Claud. A quotation from this memorial essay indicates the superior quality of this short biography:

In private life he was a most affectionate relative and many still can testify the warmth and zeal of friendship. He was a lively and agreeable companion, gentle in his manners and liberal in his ideas, close in argument and occasionally strong in censure. In his person he was rather the middle stature, with a very expressive countenance and an penetrating eye. In his address was polite; and in his ordinary conversation he displayed a pleasant vivacity. He was remarkable for cheerfulness of temper; and this happy disposition continued to the last although a defect in hearing bad unluckily for some years encreased so much as to deprive him in a great measure of the enjoyment of society. Many of his familiar letters written from abroad and in possession of his relations in Scotland are highly interesting and amusing they are pictures of his conversation often exhibiting a lively imagination with a witty playfulness of thought and expression.

Three of Patrick's executors were kinsmen who had connections with India: Claud, Sir Hugh Inglis (1744–1820)²⁵⁴ and Josias Du Pré Porcher (c.1761–1820).²⁵⁵ In a codicil dated 20 July 1804, Porcher replaced John Free, banker, of Bartholomew

²⁴⁹ Gordon Wolstenholme and Raymond Hurt, 'A Harley Street address', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 92 (1999), 425–8.

²⁵⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine* 75 (1805), 683.

²⁵¹ Munk, Roll, xi, 23; Clarke, --, 'Russell, Patrick', *The Georgian era* (London: Vizetelly & Branston, 1834), iii, 485–6.

²⁵² [Everard Home?], 'Memoirs'.

²⁵³ [Everard Home?], 'Memoirs of the late Dr Patrick Russell. Author of the *History of Aleppo*', *The Scots Magazine* (November 1811), 904–10.

²⁵⁴ Inglis, his cousin, had joined Claud in India in 1762. Inglis became Director of EIC from 1784. C.H. and D. Philips (comp.), 'Alphabetical list of directors of the East India Company from 1758 to 1858', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 4 (1941), 325–36.

²⁵⁵ Josias Du Pré Porcher was the nephew of Josias Du Pré (1721–17800, Governor of Madras between 1770 and 1773.

Lane, of Down, Thornton & Free, who died in either 1802 or 1803. Patrick stipulated that ‘it is my request to be interred in the nearest burial ground in the most private manner that custom will permit but not be deposited within the walls of any place dedicated to public worship. In strict conformity with these directions he was interred 6th July in Marylebone burying ground in presence of a few of his intimate friends.’²⁵⁶

Patrick left several Oriental manuscripts to Claud and his sons; a sealed parcel of books to the British Museum; and his collection of dried Indian plants to the University of Edinburgh,²⁵⁷ but ordered the destruction of many of his own papers after his death.²⁵⁸

Patrick’s library, of over a thousand titles as well as periodicals and pamphlets, was sold at Mr Squibb’s Grand Rooms, 22–23 Savile Row, London (auctioneers 1777–1834), then run by James Squibb and his son George, for four days from 30 April 1806.²⁵⁹ There are some notable omissions in the list; not least Bruce’s *Travels* and the Arabic manuscripts. These may well have been retained by Claud or other family members. Claud’s smaller library was sold by auction by Sotheby’s on 4 July 1820.²⁶⁰

2.4 Conclusion

Biographical methods are becoming increasingly popular in history and social research, perhaps as a reaction to an emphasis on objectivity that has been inherited from the Enlightenment. As Becker emphasized, life histories are concerned with ‘a faithful rendering of the subject’s experience and interpretation of the world he lives in.’²⁶¹ This chapter identified who the authors and editor of *Aleppo* were. It was clear that Alexander and Patrick were fascinated by medical matters and natural history

²⁵⁶ [Home], ‘Patrick Russell’, 7.

²⁵⁷ A botanical cabinet of Indian plants, La II 715. See National History Museum’s copy of Hedge, ‘Russell, Patrick’.

²⁵⁸ Will of Patrick Russell, Doctor of Physic of Saint Marylebone, Middlesex, [20?] 23 August 1805. NAL, Prob 11/1430, fols 236^v–8^v.

²⁵⁹ Squibb, *Catalogue*.

²⁶⁰ Claud’s library sold on one day (British Museum, *List of catalogues of English book sales, 1676–1900* (London: British Museum, 1915), 150).

²⁶¹ Howard Becker, Introduction to *Jack-Roller* by Clifford Robe Shaw (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1966), v–xviii.

throughout their lives. This synopsis corrected some details published in earlier accounts, and provided new information and interpretations, to give as sound a foundation as possible for subsequent chapters.

Freedom of knowledge and cosmopolitan aspirations of the Scottish Enlightenment flourished in Edinburgh. Aleppo was an arena of multiple and complex ethnic, religious identities in a cosmopolitan world. In and *en route* to and from the Carnatic, where the EIC was beginning to establish its empire, manuscripts were reworked or completed. In the sophisticated and multi-ethnic environment of cosmopolitan London *Aleppo* was produced and publicized, as discussed in the following chapter.

Part II Examining Aleppo

Chapter 3

The Readership: popularizing and publicizing Aleppo

3.0 Introduction

The aim of this chapter will be to attempt to allow *Aleppo* to regain its place as a classic study on the Levant written during the Scottish Enlightenment by exploring the place of *Aleppo* within literary genres admired in the eighteenth century, the popularity of the editions at the time and the impact of associated critical reviews.

This chapter will begin by locating *Aleppo* and its authors in the Scottish Enlightenment and identifying its place in the genre of natural history, before discussing its place within the genre of travel literature. The next section will explore how the two editions of *Aleppo* variously challenged or confirmed conventional models of travel accounts in the eighteenth century. The following two sections of this chapter will investigate how its reputation was extended by translations and excerpts in compendia. The final section will critically examine a series of reviews of both editions in contemporary periodicals and the various issues that they raised, such as the standard of Patrick's Arabic and the use of French sources. Whilst there have been many conventional studies of travellers in the Middle East, or its natural history, this chapter will explore the relative popularity of two editions of *Aleppo* just after they were published, and will discuss associated influences of critical reviews. Some of the reviews are, at first sight, not particularly flattering but this section will demonstrate how significant simply being reviewed in major journals promoted interest in any publication.

3.1 The Scottish Enlightenment — and related genres

This section will locate the two editions of *Aleppo* within the Scottish Enlightenment. In line with Enlightenment traditions, their work depended on careful observation, reflected scientific advances and demonstrated great attention to philological detail with the provision, at least in *Aleppo*², of substantial European and Arabic bibliographic authorities.

The Enlightenment, the ‘Age of Reason’,¹ was a period of fundamental change, with a focus on belief in the power of reason rather than in superstition. The Enlightenment² witnessed an explosion of intellectual activity, especially in France, Scotland and the United States. It provoked the first modern intellectual debates on perspectives on history and culture, and on the interpretation and study of other human cultures (including religions) through the exploration of ‘natural history’.³ This was based on the idea that natural historians, like the Russells, could discover the truth about how the world operated through empirical investigation. Alternative viewpoints, the observer and the observed, were central to Enlightenment thought.

Two phases of the Scottish Enlightenment⁴ can be identified. The first revolved around the culture of the *literati* and maintained a theological basis for moral philosophy. It revolved around Presbyterians such as the sceptic empiricist, William Robertson FRSE, FSA (1721–1793)⁵ and Adam Ferguson FRSE (1723–1816) in the mid-eighteenth century, when Alexander produced his edition of *Aleppo*¹ (1756). It may have begun in 1707 with the Act of Union,⁶ or even as early as 1600,⁷

¹ Age of Reason: Age of Enlightenment in its long form of 1600–1800.

² The Age of Enlightenment: a cultural movement of intellectuals in eighteenth-century Europe and beyond, to advance knowledge, promote science and intellectual interchange; it aimed to improve society and opposed intolerance.

³ Larry Wolff and Maco Cipolloni, *The anthropology of the Enlightenment* (Stanford, Ca: Stanford University Press, 2007), xii; Aaron Garrett, ‘Anthropology: the “original” of human nature’, in Alexander Broadie (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 79–93.

⁴ Inspired by Aristotle, the Scottish Enlightenment flourished from the 1720s with the publication of Francis Hutcheson’s *An inquiry into the original of our ideas of beauty and virtue: in two treatises* (1724; London: D. Midwinter et al., 1738), followed by David Hume, *A Treatise of human nature* (1730; London: John Noon, 1739–1740). Patrick owned copies of both of these treatises.

⁵ Principal of the University of Edinburgh from 1762; Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1763.

⁶ Hugh Trevor-Roper, ‘The Scottish Enlightenment’, *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century* 58 (1967), 1635–58.

influenced by such English moral philosophers as John Locke (1632–1704) and Isaac Newton (1642–1727), who began by focusing on observation and experience leading to the acquisition of truth. The Scottish Enlightenment reached its peak between the 1750s and 1780s.⁸ The second phase can be called ‘Common Sense Enlightenment’ and was influenced by Newtonian science and epistemology.⁹ This second phase began about 1785 and probably influenced Patrick when he published *Aleppo*² in 1794.

Whilst most modern authorities on the Scottish Enlightenment scrutinize its origins, its *literati* and legacy, most fail to mention *Aleppo* or its authors. Though Alexander’s fellow-students, including Fothergill and Cleghorn who practised in Minorca,¹⁰ are mentioned, one might have expected at least a reference to *Aleppo* in standard texts on the Scottish Enlightenment. Indeed, Alexander’s lifelong friend Fothergill acknowledged that *Aleppo*¹ became a book of ‘standard authority and acknowledged merit’ that established Alexander’s reputation.¹¹ The problem may be because the Russells left Edinburgh to pursue careers in the Ottoman empire, London and India. However, whilst earlier studies focus on the importance of the Scottish *Diaspora* for Scotland, those discussing the Scottish Enlightenment dismiss authors such as the Russells who worked in different locations.¹² Several scholars argue that the influence of Scottish thought on early America has become obligatory in studies of the American Enlightenment.¹³ If that was the case in America, for example, where so many Scots made a useful intellectual contribution, then it should apply to other Scots ‘abroad’ (including the Middle East and India) who followed the philosophies of the Scottish Enlightenment and corresponded with its *literati* in a

⁷ Douglas Young, ‘Scotland and Edinburgh in the eighteenth century’, *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century* 58 (1967), 1967–90.

⁸ James D. Young, *The rousing of the Scottish working class* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1979), 47 suggested it ran from 1750 to 1820.

⁹ Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Environment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985).

¹⁰ George Cleghorn, *Observations on the epidemical diseases in Minorca* (London: D. Wilson, 1751).

¹¹ Munk, *Roll*, ii, 192.

¹² Steve Murdoch, *Network north* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), on extended Scottish kin and kith networks in northern Europe from c.1600–1746.

¹³ R. Sher and J.R. Smitten (eds), *Scotland and America in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990); Ned C. Landsman, *Nation and Province in the First British Empire* (London: Bucknell University Press, 2001).

‘Republic of letters’. Thus the definition of who should be included in the ‘Scottish Enlightenment’ could be usefully re-examined in the context of the writings of the Russells.

To understand the popularity of the two editions of *Aleppo* during the eighteenth century, its acknowledged inspiration for nineteenth-century authors, and later significance of the two editions, it will be useful to engage with motifs (essentially French *philosophes*) pertinent to the Enlightenment throughout this thesis such as natural history, rational objectivity, taste, curiosity, wonder, improvements in medicine — and the ‘pleasures of the imagination’.

3.1.1 Aleppo within the genre of ‘natural history’

This section will locate *Aleppo* against the background of scientific research before and within the genre of ‘natural history’ of the Enlightenment. *Aleppo* was written in the ‘natural history’ tradition of the Enlightenment which was based on observations and experiences of another culture and its physical environment. The Russells described the effects of particular diseases, becoming experts on the plague. *Aleppo* soon became a widely-read and popular reference work on an extraordinary diverse range of topics but mainly on the flora and fauna, medicine and customs of the people of Aleppo, as Mohamad Ali Hachicho described:—

Alexander Russell’s *Natural History of Aleppo* is the only full reference to Aleppo and its surroundings in the eighteenth century. Besides the description and enumeration of all its animals, plants and flowers, there is a lot of interesting information on the city itself, its history and contemporary state, and on its inhabitants and their manners and life. ... both Alexander and later on Patrick offered great services to mankind through their observation and laborious studies of the plague and its nature. Alexander’s knowledge of Arabic, a rarity among our travellers, surely gave him better opportunities to understand the country and its people than others, and contributed to the good qualities of a scholarly work on Aleppo, which nobody else offered at this period.¹⁴

Yet, from the early nineteenth century, *Aleppo* had more or less become a storeroom of lost knowledge and ethnographic description.

Whilst natural history, in the modern sense of flora and fauna, will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6, it will be useful to define the broader eighteenth-century genre of ‘natural history’, as used in *Aleppo*, at an earlier stage of this thesis. ‘Natural philosophy’ was divided into physics and another group that included

¹⁴ Mohamad Ali Hachicho, ‘English travel books about the Arab Near East in the eighteenth century’, *Die Welt des Islams* 9 (1964), 1–206 (48–50).

chemistry (then a somewhat unsystematic discipline) and natural history. Natural history broadly included anatomy, biology, mineralogy, astronomy, archaeology, zoology, botany, geology, ecology, medical studies, the weather and literature — and even studies of other cultures. It was used for all descriptive aspects of the study of nature and included far more than the disciplined study of birds, butterflies and flowers of today. It was an exquisitely detailed literary practice — virtually an autonomous scientific discipline,¹⁵ encompassing not only a mania for scientific taxonomies, rationality and a search for objective scientific truths but also many aspects of human societies. Part of eighteenth-century natural history included the discovery and exploration of customs, manners and beliefs of other cultures. Whilst the ‘natural history’ approach of the Enlightenment meant that many different topics could be incorporated, it meant that only scholars of the highest quality, polymaths like Alexander and Patrick, could write effectively on an enormous range of subjects.

Natural history in the eighteenth century was no longer studied under the umbrella of theology as it had been in medieval times but it was scientifically analysed as ‘natural philosophy’ and transformed into an empirical science. The genre of natural history had classical antecedents, some more reliable than others, as Francis Bacon (1561–1626) observed in 1605: ‘So, in natural history, we see there hath not been that choice and judgment used as ought to have been, as may appear in the writings of Plinius,¹⁶ Cardanus,¹⁷ Albertus,¹⁸ and divers of the Arabians, being fraught with much fabulous matter, a great part not only untried, but notoriously untrue, to the great derogation of the credit of natural philosophy ... wherein the wisdom and integrity of Aristotle is worthy to be observed.’¹⁹

In 1612, Francis Bacon indicated that ‘natural history’ involved aspects of memory by providing adequate descriptions, collections of materials, and taxonomies; in contrast to ‘natural philosophy’ based on reason and including the

¹⁵ Philip R. Sloan, ‘Natural History’, *The Cambridge History of eighteenth-century philosophy*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), ii, 903–38 (903–5).

¹⁶ Pliny the Elder.

¹⁷ Gerolamo Cardano (1501–1576), an Italian physician,

¹⁸ The great German philosopher, Albertus Magnus (1193/1206–1280).

¹⁹ Francis Bacon, *The advancement of learning* (1605), in *The works of Francis Bacon* (London: A. Millar in the Strand, 1765), i, 17.

Newtonian sciences.²⁰ Bacon's definition of 'natural history' may have influenced Alexander but he was apparently more absorbed in early pre-Linnaean classifications and in describing his own field observations than in theoretical debate.

Alexander belonged to an early phase of the Enlightenment when natural histories were turning away from navigational narratives but were still written to inspire and stimulate a sense of wonder and curiosity in the reader. Scottish philosophers of the Scottish Enlightenment borrowed concepts from natural history and searched for social structures and customs. They believed that humans could improve society and nature, their arguments moving over time from 'reason' to 'experience'. New philosophical theories about the relationship between human nature and historical development were advanced. For example, David Hume (1711–1776) initiated the 'natural history' approach to moral philosophy that was based on his experience and observations of human nature.²¹ In his *Treatise on Human Nature*, first published in 1739–1740, Hume promoted the importance of empirical enquiry for natural history. He placed humankind in the scientifically intelligible world of 'nature' so, for Hume, 'natural history' involved the collection of facts about human nature and on the basis of these facts the philosopher could then reason — but Hume paid little attention to travel literature and makes no mention of *Aleppo* in his work. Alexander makes no direct reference to Hume's work either, but Alexander's methodology of careful observation and empirical research was in line with the approach advocated by Hume.

The more empirically orientated moral philosophy of Adam Smith (1723–1790) and Thomas Reid (1710–1796) was also based on a study of the 'natural history' of humankind as they evolved through a sequence of social conditions but again there appears to be no references to *Aleppo* in their works.²² Likewise, there was no indication in *Aleppo* that either brother was interested in philosophical stages of civilization in human society. However, there was a curious article communicated to the Royal Society by Alexander on behalf of James Bate MD (1729–1779), about

²⁰ Richard Yeo, 'Classifying the sciences', in Roy Porter (ed.), *The Cambridge history of science*. iv. *Eighteenth-Century Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 241–66 (253–4).

²¹ David Hume, 'Natural History of Religion' in idem, *Four dissertations* (London: A. Millar, 1757).

²² Roger L. Emerson, *Essays on David Hume, medical men and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 130, 132.

a ‘negro woman’.²³ Furthermore, there does not appear to be any evidence in *Aleppo*² that Patrick engaged in debates about racial classification systems although the German Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752–1840), one of the first to study classifications of humankind as part of natural history, contacted Patrick in 1791.²⁴

As the Enlightenment developed towards the end of the eighteenth century when *Aleppo*² was published, ‘natural history’ became more specimen-orientated, an approach that led to further refinement of scientific methodology and thought. The French philosopher and one-time friend of Hume, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) distinguished between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’ and identified two kinds of inequality: ‘natural’, that is, established by nature such as differences in age and health; whilst any significant inequalities among human beings are the result of ‘civilization’.²⁵ ‘Cultural’ is always something other than ‘nature’; ‘culture’ always implies a transformation and denial of the ‘natural’. To understand the relationships between ‘nature’ and ‘culture’, it is necessary to study the systems of knowledge which produce that culture, an aspect of the Enlightenment genre of ‘natural history’ that underscores *Aleppo*², even though the works of Rousseau are not mentioned therein. A Rousseauistic return to a state of Nature, or a cultural nostalgia for simpler times, was to become a critical theme in Romantic literature, with notions of natural harmony and form advanced by Scottish authors such as Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), but such nostalgia is not to be found in *Aleppo*², even though it was published at the beginning of the Romantic period.²⁶

From a scientific perspective, in 1794, the Scottish geologist, James Hutton (1726–1797), argued that the genres of ‘natural history’ and ‘natural philosophy’ should ‘proceed together with mutual advantage’.²⁷ It is unclear if Enlightenment philosophies of ‘natural philosophy’ influenced the Russells. Though they engaged in

²³ Alexander Russell, and James Bate, ‘An account of the remarkable alteration of colour in a negro woman’, *Philosophical Transactions* 51 (1759) 175–8. Dr James Bate, a surgeon, who emigrated from Yorkshire, trained at Edinburgh c.1750/1751, then settled in St Mary’s, Maryland.

²⁴ The German naturalist Georg Forster (1754–1794) sent Blumenbach in Göttingen a letter of recommendation to Patrick. Forster’s correspondence-diary (Brigitte Leuschner and Siegfried Scheibe (eds), *Georg Forsters Werke* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980), xvi, 608: 13 October 1791.

²⁵ Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Discours sur l’origine et les fondements de l’inégalité parmi les hommes* (Amsterdam: Marc Michel, 1755).

²⁶ Discussed further in Chapter 7.

²⁷ James Hutton, *An Investigation of principles of knowledge* (Edinburgh: A. Strahan, 1794), iii, 38. Yeo, ‘Classifying the Sciences’, 263.

scientific research, they certainly embraced ‘natural history’. Unlike modern science which is driven by specific paradigms²⁸ and scientific theories created from hypotheses,²⁹ eighteenth-century ‘natural history’ cannot be identified with one modern discipline or academic approach. Instead, in the genre of ‘natural history’ of the Enlightenment, there are multiple links and relationships between topics that have subsequently separated out into different intellectual disciples or ‘intellectual strands’.³⁰ The complex ‘multi-stranded’³¹ and many-faceted character of ‘natural history’ of the Enlightenment is not easy to interpret or understand in the light of modern intellectual frameworks for, in the latter, scholarly works tend to explore a single theme in depth via a succession of intellectually fashionable motifs or subjects.

‘Natural history’ shares many of the features of what is now termed ‘multidisciplinary’ or modern ‘interdisciplinary’ studies, that is, studies which are composed of, integrate or combine several usually separate branches of learning or fields of expertise. Any appreciation of *Aleppo* should, therefore, be multi-layered and multi-disciplinary in order to interpret and re-establish the importance of the Russells’ natural history. Unfortunately, unlike the Russells and natural historians of the eighteenth century, very few people nowadays are conversant with several fields of learning. Disciplines have become more and more specialized and have developed their own specialized vocabularies.

²⁸ Paradigm: the set of practices that define a scientific discipline at any particular period of time.

²⁹ Scientific theory: ‘a well-substantiated explanation of some aspect of the natural world, based on a body of facts that have been repeatedly confirmed through observation and experiment.’ (www.nap.edu). Hypothesis: a suggested explanation for a phenomenon that can be tested by scientific methods.

³⁰ ‘Intellectual strand’ includes past and continuing aspects and contributions to a specialism or field, including relevant research, publications and citations. From the nineteenth century, many of these ‘strands’ developed into discrete disciplines.

³¹ ‘Multi-stranded’: i.e. identified as separate disciplines or intellectual aspects (‘strands’) in modern disciplines. For example, historians many ‘now offer a multi-stranded narrative’ that includes aspects of religion, gender, national identity, events, personalities and ideas as well as ‘the political process,’ Rohan McWilliam, *Popular politics in nineteenth-century England* (London: Routledge, 1998), 98–101.

3.1.2 Aleppo within the genre of travel writing

This section will discuss the place of the two editions of *Aleppo* within the developing genre of 'books of travels'.³² The most useful modern compilation of travel literature was by Hachicho³³ who identified about twenty-three published accounts of the city written by the occasional European traveller who visited Aleppo during the eighteenth century, sometimes *en route* to India. Hachicho included a section about English residents in the Near East that included Alexander and Patrick, noting that probably none of the travel accounts he discussed in his long article 'was received with more enthusiasm or celebrated more in scientific circles in England than Alexander Russell'.³⁴

This section will explore why the two editions of *Aleppo* were popular. The books were translated; snippets were included in popular compendia of voyages and travels that 'profitably beguile many a long evening'.³⁵ A clue to its success lies in Fothergill's description of 1770: 'The descriptions are so accurate and judicious as to give a completeness and permanent value to the work.'³⁶ A second reason was the immense enthusiasm for travel literature in the 'Century of the *Arabian Nights*'. A third reason was because *Aleppo* could be read in many different formats and alternative ways: as literature, as a travel account, as a source of geographical or cultural information from first-hand apparently reliable authorities, and as a source of information in scientific and religious debates.

As the century progressed, there was increased literacy, more bookshops and a startling increase in the number of cheap books being published,³⁷ especially by Scottish publishers in London and Edinburgh who broke the near monopoly of previous trade.³⁸ Travel books, such as *Aleppo*, and great collections of compendia

³² Anon, 'Art I and Art IV. *The natural history of Aleppo ...*', *English Review* 24 (1794), 81–86 (81).

³³ Hachicho, 'English travel books'; Gerald MacLean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic world, 1558–1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), useful on earlier travellers.

³⁴ Hachicho, 'English travel books, 48–50.

³⁵ Samuel Austin Allibone, *A critical dictionary of English literature* (Philadelphia, Pa.: Childs and Peterson, 1858), i, 27.

³⁶ Fox, *John Fothergill*, 119.

³⁷ James Raven, 'The book trades', in Isabel River (ed.), *Books and their readers in eighteenth-century England* (London: Continuum International, 2003), 1–32.

³⁸ A.S. Collins, 'The growth of the reading public during the eighteenth century', *The Review of English Studies* 2/7 (1926), 284–294; 2/8 (1926), 428–38.

were popular reading amongst the gentry and middle classes.³⁹ *Aleppo* was available in circulating libraries which developed after the 1740s and in stately homes and private collections.

The two editions of *Aleppo* were relatively expensive productions. *Aleppo*¹ cost 15s (equivalent to about £64 today),⁴⁰ *Aleppo*² was produced by J.J. and George Robinson, a company that controlled the wholesale book trade from the 1780s. In 1794 it was for sale for £3 12s (about £200 today). By the nineteenth century, it was listed for sale by Thomas Payne of Mews-Gate, Castle St, Leicester-Fields, 'beautifully printed, plates, new and very elegantly bound by Walther', for sale for £4.10s⁴¹ and, in 1805, for £2.10s.⁴² *Aleppo*¹ sold in 2007 at Sotheby's for £3,120. By 1824, Dibdin recorded that a good copy of *Aleppo*², bound, was worth £3 3s. By 2012 the Wayfarer's Bookshop in North Vancouver listed *Aleppo*² for sale at US\$3250.⁴³ Patrick's *Treatise* was for sale for £1 7s in 1791, in 1796 for £1.10s second-hand and fetched £5,000 at Sotheby's in 1999.⁴⁴ As the reviewer of *Aleppo*² commented, 'this, as it is a splendid, is also an expensive work. We think splendor, when exhibited on insignificant and paltry publications, is generally detrimental to the cause of literature. An undertaking like this of Dr, Russel [sic], justifies and indeed demands it.'⁴⁵

Travel writers attracted readers in the eighteenth century in a variety of ways. Reading fashions depended for their acceptance on popular assent, on the ways books could arouse a sense of curiosity and wonder in their readers rather than by rigorous examination.⁴⁶ In this light, the editor of *The Gentleman's Magazine* (1756)

³⁹ Z.R.W.M. von Martels, *Travel fact and travel fiction* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), 207.

⁴⁰ [John Armstrong], 'Art XII. *The natural history of Aleppo, and parts adjacent*', *The Critical Review* 1(1756), 360–4.

⁴¹ Thomas Payne, *A catalogue of valuable books, in various languages* ([London]: [s.n.], 1796).

⁴² Sir Egerton Brydges, *Censura Literaria* ([London]: T. Bensley, [c.1805]), 440.

⁴³ www.wayfarersbookshop.com (4 June 2012).

⁴⁴ The American Book Prices Current (ABPC) 'lists six copies of the *Treatise* at auction since 1975, presumably the best of them ([Mike] Burrell's copy) selling at Sotheby's in 1999 for a hammer price of £5,000 (CJM0321)' (www.pirages.com/store/29022.htm, viewed 24.10.2011). The estimate price at the 1999 auction (SALE L09217, lot 713) was £5,750.

⁴⁵ *British Critic* 5 (1795), 17.

⁴⁶ Robert John Weston Evans, Alexander Marr, *Curiosity and wonder from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); Justin Stagl, *A history of curiosity* (Chur, Switzerland: Harwood, 1995).

paid tribute to many long excerpts from *Aleppo* with a brief review by Johnson,⁴⁷ who commented that ‘the whole [*Aleppo*] is a natural, entertaining, and well connected series, in which all the particulars are regularly classed.’⁴⁸ Curiosity was an important attribute of any gentleman. Traveller-scholars drew maps and recorded the local weather with scientific instruments. They collected curiosities, coins, manuscripts and specimens of flora and fauna to bring back to Europe — and wrote about their adventures.⁴⁹

During the Enlightenment, readers expected there to be something in travel writing that was somehow set apart from ‘things themselves’ as a guide, a sign, a map, a text, or a set of instructions about how to begin to understand another culture. As more travel books were published after 1760, authors realized they had to provide something that made their travel accounts pleasant to read.⁵⁰ No better example was *Turkish Embassy Letters* by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762),⁵¹ published posthumously.⁵² It continues to be a primary source about the manners and habits of the people she met, with insightful and important vignettes of Ottoman life.⁵³ Such journals or letters, based as they were on private diaries, combined personal memoir, reportage, narrative drama, and even fiction.

In contrast, *Aleppo* cannot be classified as a chronological traveller’s journal, a style popular in the late seventeenth and eighteenth century, which described constant change, reflecting movement through time. The Russells’ style differed from those of travel journals and diaries that included extended dialogue with comments and thoughts as they occurred. In addition, much of the commentary in both editions of *Aleppo* is in the passive present tense rather than the past tense: the former giving a dynamic sense of the ‘here and now’. This is an expressive device that was probably used to contrast Russells’ observations in the present tense with

⁴⁷ Sylvanus Urban [i.e. Edward Cave], Preface, *Gentleman’s Magazine* 26 (1756), n.p.

⁴⁸ Samuel Johnson, Review of *Aleppo*, *Gentleman’s Magazine* 26 (1756), 253.

⁴⁹ *Aleppo*², i, ix.

⁵⁰ Martels, *Travel fact and travel fiction*, 205.

⁵¹ Hereinafter ‘Lady Mary’.

⁵² Lady Mary, *Letters*.

⁵³ Robert Halsband, *The life of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956); Arthur J. Weitzman, ‘Voyeurism and Aesthetics in the Turkish Bath’, *Comparative Literature Studies* 39/4 (2002), 347–59.

historical detail and comments on certain individuals which are given in the past tense in *Aleppo*.

From the 1780s, travel accounts became analytical rather than narrative; thematic rather than chronological. Travelogues of the Enlightenment, often with much ethnographic, linguistic and historical content, were often placed in an historical framework along with conceptions of the 'exotic Other'.⁵⁴ The acquisition of thorough scientific and human information meant a heavy burden was placed on any serious traveller during the Enlightenment. In the eighteenth century, 'cultural cosmopolitanism' was associated with the Grand Tour when *litterati* and sophisticated aristocrats broadened their horizons by observing other cultures and collecting curiosities. Travellers' writings (including *Aleppo*), were systematically studied by *litterati* of the Enlightenment, as they 'throw some glimmering light on the path of the naturalist' and provided evidence of the diversity and history of humankind for philosophers.⁵⁵

There was a growing demand for authentic narratives by travellers who knew the Levant. Alexander's original intention was just to focus on medical matters:

But having, by a long and extensive practice as a physician, acquired great knowledge of the customs and manners of the inhabitants, but finding that no account yet extant, was so full and particular as to preclude what he could relate ... he enlarged his plan and determined to give a succinct but exact account of the particulars expressed in the title.⁵⁶

*Aleppo*² reflects basic approaches of the Enlightenment: precise observations based on systematically collected data which were carefully analysed. By the 1790s, travelogues were increasingly refined; full of detailed descriptions that provided demonstrable evidence of other cultures. Three years after *Aleppo*² was published, *The Critical Review* pronounced,

This may be called the age of peregrination; for we have reason to believe, that the desire of seeing foreign countries never before so diffusively operated and though only a small proportion of the great number of travellers commit their observations to the press, we are abundantly supplied with narratives of tours. Many of these productions are indeed

⁵⁴ Exoticism motivated many authors, from early travellers to Said's *Orientalism* and to more recent studies of 'Otherness'. Motifs of 'otherness' or 'alterity' underlie the construction of 'cultural others' by modern socio-cultural anthropologists. Starkey, 'Mercantile gentlemen'.

⁵⁵ William Marsden, *The history of Sumatra* (London: the author, 1783), vii–viii.

⁵⁶ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1756), 253.

contemptible but such censure is not due to the performance which now solicits our attention.⁵⁷

Authors who attempted to classify and explain what they witnessed, contributed to scientific debates as these ‘accounts mixed observation techniques with narrative strategies, information with rhetoric, description with presentation, and perspective with staging.’⁵⁸ Patrick reinforced Alexander’s identification of objective empirical observation with the transfer of specific knowledge that, for their readers, enhanced the perception of another culture.⁵⁹

The eighteenth century witnessed the development and sustained popularity of travel literature with its fascination with the curious and exotic; but by the nineteenth century such exoticism in many travelogues had become hackneyed, dripping with clichés.

3.2 Engaging Europe: *Aleppo* in translation

A second indicator of the popularity of a book will be the extent to which it was translated into other languages. Demand for translations was part of pan-European appetite for travelogues which was stimulated by the publication of Galland’s translation of the *Arabian Nights’ Entertainments*. *Aleppo*¹ became a popular book across Europe⁶⁰ and was soon translated into Dutch though not, apparently, into French or German.⁶¹ A Dutch translation of *Aleppo*¹ by the naturalist, Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius, the Younger (1730–1777),⁶² was published in 1762.⁶³ *Aleppo*² was translated into German,⁶⁴ with valuable annotations by Johann Friedrich Gmelin

⁵⁷ Tobias Smollett (ed.), Review of Frederic Leopold Count Stohlberg, *Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Sicily*, transl. Thomas Holcroft (London: Robinson, 1797), *Critical Review* 19 (1797), 361.

⁵⁸ Wolff and Cipolloni, *Anthropology of the Enlightenment*, 323.

⁵⁹ Veronica Kelly and Dorothea von Mücke (eds), *Body and text in the eighteenth century* (Stanford, Ca.: Stanford University Press, 1994), 9–28, 75.

⁶⁰ James Dallaway, *Constantinople, ancienne et moderne* (Paris: Denné jeune, An VII, [1798–1799]), 17–18.

⁶¹ Excerpts appeared in Philippe-Florent de Puisieux (transl.), *Les voyageurs modernes* (Paris: Nyon, Guillyn & Hardy, 1760), i.

⁶² Son of Linnaeus’s patron, the famous Dutch botanist, Jan Frederik Gronovius (1686–1762). Chapter 8, this volume.

⁶³ Alexander, *Naauwkeurige en natuurlyke Beschryving van de Stad Aleppo en van derzelve ommelanden ... Uyt het Engels vertaald door Mr L.T. Gronovius* (Leiden; privately printed, 1762).

⁶⁴ Alexander, Patrick and Johann Friedrich Gmelin, *Von der Regierung zu Aleppo* (Göttingen: Rosenbusch, 1797); *Beschreibung der Thiere und Gewächse in der Gegend von Aleppo* (Göttingen: Rosenbusch, 1798); *Naturgeschichte von Aleppo* (Göttingen: Rosenbusch, 1798).

(1748–1804),⁶⁵ a German naturalist, botanist and entomologist — not by Gronovius.⁶⁶ By 1968 selections from *Aleppo* were translated into Arabic by Wadīʿ ʿAbd Allāh Qaṣṭūn as *al-Iḥṣān fī Ḥalab fī al-qarn al-thāmin ʿashar*.⁶⁷

Whilst the travelogues of Reverend Henry Maundrell (d.1701),⁶⁸ an engineer and surveyor, Bartholomew Plaisted (d.1767)⁶⁹ and Eyles Irwin (1751–1817), both of the EIC, were translated into French,⁷⁰ a French translation of either edition of *Aleppo* has yet to be identified, although translated excerpts of *Aleppo*¹ were published.⁷¹ Perhaps, French scholars were too preoccupied with the upheaval of the French Revolution (1789–1799) and Napoleon Bonaparte’s dynamic campaign in the Middle East (1798–1801) to translate *Aleppo*². Other projects overshadowed *Aleppo*, especially *Description de l’Égypte*, a gigantic collaborative encyclopaedic work involving about 160 savants which first appeared in 1809 and continued in instalments until 1829. Yet *Aleppo*², like work by Niebuhr or Richard Pococke (1704–1765), achieved much that was similar to the *Description de l’Égypte* — but on a much smaller scale.

3.3 Popularizing *Aleppo*: compendia

A third indicator of the popularity of any book in the eighteenth century was whether or not snippets and excerpts were included in popular compendia, which were designed to attract a mass-market audience. Travel compendia provide a fascinating picture of the tastes and acquisition habits of the reading public of the time. Each compendium was unique but tended to be organized around a core of well-known extracts. So popular did *Aleppo*¹ become that, as part of a description of Asia, several somewhat inadequately attributed snippets were published in *The Lady’s Magazine*

⁶⁵ In 1775 Gmelin, Göttingen, Chair of Medicine and Chemistry; 1788, published the thirteenth edition of Linnaeus’s *Systema naturae* (Leiden: [s.n.], 1735) with many additions and alterations.

⁶⁶ Boogert, ‘Patrick Russell’, 225.

⁶⁷ Alexander Russell, *al-Iḥṣān fī Ḥalab fī al-qarn al-thāmin ʿashar*, transl. Wadīʿ ʿAbd Allāh Qaṣṭūn (Aleppo: Maṭbaʿat al-Ḍād, [1968]), possibly translated in 1882.

⁶⁸ Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem at Easter, AD 1697* (Dublin: J. Smith, 1703).

⁶⁹ Bartholomew Plaisted, *A journal from Calcutta in Bengal, by sea, to Busserah &c.* (London: T. Kinnersly, 1758).

⁷⁰ Henry Maundrell, *Voyage d’Alep à Jérusalem à Pâques en l’année 1697* (Utrecht: G. Van Poolsum, 1705); Plaisted, *Itinéraire de l’Arabie déserte* (Paris: Duchesne, 1759); Eyles Irwin, *Voyage à la mer Rouge* (Paris: Briand, 1792).

⁷¹ ‘Description d’Alep & des pays voisins/par le Docteur Russel’, *Les voyageurs modernes*, 4 vols (Paris: Nyon, Guillyn & Hardy, 1760).

in 1781, and entwined with pieces from Alexander Drummond's *Different Cities*. *The Lady's Magazine* attracted women readers who were mainly middle class from the provinces, and provided them with specialized information on a broad variety of topics for genteel conversation.⁷² Such exotic snippets from *Aleppo*, hovering, for its lady readers, between fact and fiction, provided information that had not been readily accessible to them and enabled them to glimpse another world that they could otherwise only imagine.

Enthusiasm by eminent writers made it a popular and admired literary genre from the sixteenth century, yet the role of such compendia has been largely ignored by modern scholars and they are not discussed in *Aleppo observed*. Compiling compendia of 'books of travel' attracted the interest of the most important writers of the eighteenth century from Defoe to Johnson, Goldsmith and Smollett. Even the famous London physician, Mead, compiled a collection of travels for the Royal Society.⁷³ Compendia built upon an established tradition of travel writing but their compilers were ready to criticize the works of their contemporaries.

Original works may well take on different meanings in the hands of compilers but it was a fashionable genre. Pre-publication excerpts from *Aleppo* were published in *The Gentleman's Magazine*,⁷⁴ a periodical which contained articles on many subjects from news and political speeches to literature, history and poetry and reached a wide and informed readership shortly after publication. A synopsis of *Aleppo* was provided with the excerpts and its sixteen copper-plates described: 'The whole is a natural, entertaining and well-connected series, in which all the particulars are regularly clarified.'⁷⁵ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, known as a 'monthly intelligencer' became increasingly sophisticated and ambitious. Designed for the aspirational mercantile classes throughout Britain, it sold in large numbers and was a great commercial success.

⁷² *The Lady's Magazine or entertaining companion for the fair sex, appropriated solely to their use and amusement* 12 (1781), 311–3, 336, 349, 460, 564, 568, 635, 689. The magazine ran from 1770 to 1837.

⁷³ James Hodgson et al., *Miscellanea curiosa* (London: James and John Knapton, 1727), iii.

⁷⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1756), 241–4, 290–3, 344–5, 379–82.

⁷⁵ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1756), 253.

There were several contemporary abbreviated versions of the 1756 edition of *Aleppo*, presumably for popular consumption.⁷⁶ In addition to Alexander's travels, excerpts were from Richard Pococke, Alexander Drummond, Wood, Maundrell and Reverend Thomas Shaw FRS (1694–1751), chaplain to the English factory in Algiers from 1720 to 1732 who travelled in North Africa, Egypt, Sinai and the Levant in the 1720s.⁷⁷ As *The Literary Miscellany* recorded, 'Shaw and Russell are in highest estimation, and are read with most advantage by those, who would know the present state of places, once famous, as the theatre of the most interesting scenes and events.'⁷⁸

There was a later compendium entitled *A curious collection of travels, selected from the writers of all nations* that was published in 1761.⁷⁹ Goldsmith was fascinated by the Levant and would often talk of making an expedition to or even working as a physician in Aleppo himself, though Johnson scoffed at the idea.⁸⁰ Another edition of this compendium, *The World Displayed*, was published in 1779.⁸¹ Such compendia were a curious mixture of voyages, discoveries and explorations. Designed to enlighten the armchair traveller in Europe, these compendia depended on authentic accounts based on observations by eyewitnesses. Compendia reached wide audiences, so that inclusion was an indication of the esteem a travel account was accorded.

3.4 Contemporary reviews of *Aleppo*

This will be the first study to examine critical reviews of *Aleppo*. Contemporary reviews of *Aleppo*¹ in the first year of publication of two new prestigious periodicals,

⁷⁶ 'A description of Aleppo and the adjacent country', by A. Russel.', in *Compendium of the most approved modern travels*, 4 vols (London: John Scott, 1757), ii.

⁷⁷ Thomas Shaw, *Travels, or observations relating to several parts of Barbary and the Levant* (Oxford: [s.n.], 1738; London: A. Millar and W. Sandby, 1757).

⁷⁸ *The Literary Miscellany* 2 (Cambridge: W. Hilliard, 1806), 11.

⁷⁹ Christopher Smart, Oliver Goldsmith and Samuel Johnson (comp.), *A curious collection of travels, selected from the writers of all nations*, 10 vols (London: J. Newbery, 1761), ii. Excerpts included several sources quoted in *Aleppo*².

⁸⁰ Washington Irving, *The life of Oliver Goldsmith* (New York: Harper, 1840).

⁸¹ Alexander, 'A description of Aleppo and the adjacent country, by A. Russel', in Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, Christopher Smart (eds), *The world displayed*, 4 vols (Dublin: James Williams, 1779), xiii, 63–103.

The Critical Review and the *Literary Magazine*, despite some criticisms, popularized the volume. There appear to have been fewer reviews of *Aleppo*.⁸²

In the mid-eighteenth century, several literary journals, such as Edward Cave's *The Gentleman's Magazine* (founded in 1731), *The Scots Magazine* (published in Edinburgh from 1739), Smollett's *Critical Review* (from 1756) and Johnson's *Literary Magazine* (1756–1757) were established to bring interesting works to the attention of the wider reading public, in the form of reviews, snippets and discussions that disseminated knowledge for popular consumption. They represented a new literary genre and often included reviews on a variety of books to broaden readers' horizons and helped to promote readership. They aimed to highlight the best and worst aspect of any book, were illuminated with 'proper quotations, and to convey their remarks in such a manner as might best conduce to the entertainment of the public.'⁸³ To be reviewed in all these major periodicals within a year of publication was an achievement in itself: roughly equivalent to being featured in *The London Review of Books*, *The Scotsman*, *The Sunday Times* and *The Observer* today. Authors had more to gain by being reviewed than by being ignored.⁸⁴

3.4.1 *The Critical Review*

The Critical Review was launched in direct competition to the *Monthly Review*, so it is not surprising to find *Aleppo* reviewed in its first volume (May 1756),⁸⁵ in the same month that *Aleppo* was published. Smollett later became a major literary figure in Edinburgh and then London, second only to Johnson as a reviewer. Alexander might have expected sympathy from Smollett who, as a struggling novelist, had only just finished ghost-writing *Travels through different cities*,⁸⁶ for the sum of 100 guineas but the novelist and man of letters, Horace Walpole (1717–1797), called it a 'foolish vulgar book of travels' and containing 'the observations of a simpleton'.⁸⁷

⁸² It has estimated that three times the number of novels alone, were published in the 1790s than the 1750s. James Raven, *Judging New Wealth* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 38.

⁸³ Smollett, Preface, *Critical Review* 1(1756), the same volume in which the review of *Aleppo*¹ appeared.

⁸⁴ Collins, 'Growth of the Reading Public', 284–94.

⁸⁵ [Armstrong], 'Art XII'.

⁸⁶ Alexander Drummond, *Different cities*.

⁸⁷ Horace Walpole, in a letter written in 1754, *Letters of Horace Walpole, earl of Orford* (London: Lea and Blanchard, 1842), ii, 204–5. Kenneth Simpson, 'Smollett, Tobias George (1721–1771)', *ODNB*.

Nor was this travelogue particularly dependable: for example, Smollett moved part of the section on Syria to that on Izmir.⁸⁸ Perhaps Smollett (or the reviewer) just wanted to provide a provocative review to stimulate public interest and increase their sales.

Although anonymous, the critic was the physician-poet, John Armstrong (1709–1779), from Roxburghshire.⁸⁹ He was one of Smollett's 'four gentlemen of approved abilities' who contributed to the *Critical Review* and shared responsibility with Smollett for scientific and medical works.⁹⁰ Armstrong's criticisms probably reflected personal tensions. Millar, who published *Aleppo*¹ and Armstrong's *Synopsis of the history and cure of venereal diseases*,⁹¹ and Armstrong were part of the same burgeoning group of Scottish *literati* and physicians in London.⁹² Alexander was conservative, married and a hardworking professional physician, just establishing a medical reputation in London, and just elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. Armstrong, who considered himself sophisticated, was a poor physician who led a hedonistic life style, making his living by publishing scurrilous works, such as the licentious *Oeconomy of Love*⁹³ — so it was unlikely that they would have much in common.

Armstrong began his review by outlining the structure of *Aleppo*; then continued with a series of criticisms implying that *Aleppo* was badly written, unoriginal and not worth reading. In contrast, the language in *Aleppo*¹ was described in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (probably by Johnson) as 'significantly plain,

⁸⁸ *Aleppo observed*, 16.

⁸⁹ Lewis M. Knapp, 'Dr. John Armstrong, littérateur, and associate of Smollett, Thomson, Wilkes, and other celebrities', *Publications of the Modern Languages Association* 59/4 (1944), 1019–58; F. Boott, *Memoir of the life and medical opinions of John Armstrong*, 2 vols (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1833–1834). Not John Armstrong, an engineer who wrote *The history of the island of Minorca* (London: C. Davis, 1752).

⁹⁰ Derek Roper, 'Smollett's "four gentlemen": the first contributors to the *Critical Review*', *Review of English studies* 10 (1959), 38–44.

⁹¹ Patrick owned John Armstrong, MD, *A synopsis of the history and cure of venereal diseases* (London: A. Millar, 1737). This is an abridged translation of L. Luisini, *Aphrodisiacus*, with a Preface by Boerhaave (1728).

⁹² C. Helen Brock, 'The happiness of riches', in W.F. Bynum and R. Porter (eds), *William Hunter and the eighteenth-century medical world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 35–54 (42). Only Alexander is mentioned in this volume (page 158) even though Patrick was an intimate friend of William and John Hunter and corresponded with William from Aleppo.

⁹³ John Armstrong, *The Oeconomy of Love* (1736; London: M. Cooper, 1753); David Hill Radcliffe, *Lives of Scottish Poets* (London: T. Boys, 1821–1822), ii, 117–8.

perspicuous, and expressive'.⁹⁴ In fact, *Aleppo*'s sober style and absence of florid language continued the tradition of many seventeenth-century travel books. Like earlier travelogues, *Aleppo*¹ aimed to provide useful, reliable information presented in a plain style rather than try to baffle the reader with rhetoric and unnecessary trifles.⁹⁵ Yet stylistic sophistication was an attribute of any gentleman with literary pretensions as Armstrong condescendingly suggested: 'When it is considered that the author resided many years abroad and conversed daily in other languages more than in his own which he had but little leisure to cultivate the defects in his stile, it is hoped, will be forgiven.'⁹⁶ Armstrong excused his criticism in his conclusion:

It is not from any pleasure we take in exposing faults that we have been thus particular in our censures upon the doctor's language. We find it a much more agreeable office to bestow praise where we think it is due and we will venture to say that Dr Russel [sic] has given a distinct concise and satisfactory account of the epidemical diseases of Aleppo and of the plague and that his practice is rational, judicious and simple.⁹⁷

Armstrong listed a long series of grammatical or stylistic errors, without showing any admiration for the originality and substance of the content itself. Most of Armstrong's criticisms were petty.⁹⁸

Other errors were probably the fault of a copy-editor or typesetter, especially as the publication was clearly hastily produced. For example, 'is' should have been inserted between 'than' and 'customary' in the following phrase: 'One or two glasses of good wine more than customary'.⁹⁹ Without reference to the context, Armstrong's criticism seems over-zealous. Armstrong was right to criticize the following misuse of a plural in: 'It is commonly ascribed to the bite or sting of *a* common *millipedes* or wood-louse'¹⁰⁰ but this may have been an error by the typesetter. Patrick changed the wording to read 'but there is a third kind of Eruption which though commonly said to be occasioned by the bite of the Wood-louse, seems likewise to belong to the *Mal* [d'Aleppo]'.¹⁰¹ Book production concerned deeply complex partnerships between

⁹⁴ *Gentleman's Magazine* (1756), 253.

⁹⁵ Martels, *Travel fact and travel fiction*, 198.

⁹⁶ [Armstrong], 'Art XII'.

⁹⁷ [Armstrong], 'Art XII', 364.

⁹⁸ *Aleppo*¹, 6.

⁹⁹ *Aleppo*¹, 260.

¹⁰⁰ [Armstrong], 'Art XII'; probably referring to *Aleppo*¹, 262.

¹⁰¹ *Aleppo*², ii, 309.

authors and publishers, many of the latter being Scottish in Edinburgh and London.¹⁰²

In pursuit of celebrity and commercial success, it was not surprising that under all this pressure typographic mistakes were sometimes made. *Aleppo*¹'s Scottish publisher and printer, Andrew Millar, based in the Strand, London, produced a vast range of other titles of great merit in 1755/1757, including Johnson's famous *A dictionary of the English language*,¹⁰³ the fourth edition of *The Rambler*,¹⁰⁴ a reprint of *The history of the growth and decay of the Othman empire* by Demetrie Cantemir (1673–1723),¹⁰⁵ a volume of Alexander Pope's poems,¹⁰⁶ and a history of the Royal Society by Thomas Birch FRS (1705–1766).¹⁰⁷

Other criticisms by Armstrong included an over-reliance on Greek and Latin names.¹⁰⁸ This was extraordinary, coming from someone who qualified in medicine from Edinburgh in 1732, where Latin was the *lingua franca* of medicine; indeed, Latin was still a living language used in serious scholarship.¹⁰⁹ Writers had long relied on the classics to help them understand the 'Orient' and provide a conceptual frame of reference.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, there was serious interest in botanical collections by medical lecturers who would have taught Armstrong. It was not surprising to find medical terms and pre-Linnaean plant names in Latin.¹¹¹ Although Armstrong had studied medicine in the University of Edinburgh, any analysis of medical sections, especially on the plague, were, surprisingly, absent in his review.¹¹²

¹⁰² Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the book* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 2010).

¹⁰³ Johnson, *Dictionary*.

¹⁰⁴ Samuel Johnson, *The Rambler* (London: A. Millar, 1756).

¹⁰⁵ Dimitrie Cantemir, *The history of the growth and decay of the Othman empire* (London: A. Millar, 1756).

¹⁰⁶ Alexander Pope, *The works of Alexander Pope (1688–1744)*, 9 vols (London: H. Lintot, A. Millar, et al., 1756).

¹⁰⁷ A friend of Franklin. Thomas Birch, *The history of the Royal Society of London* (London: A. Millar, 1756).

¹⁰⁸ [Armstrong], 'Art XII', 360. Donald D. Eddy, *Samuel Johnson, book reviewer in the Literary Magazine, or, Universal Review, 1756–1758* (London: Garland, 1979), 42.

¹⁰⁹ Irwin, *Lust of knowing*, 83.

¹¹⁰ Jerry Toner, *Homer's Turk: how Classics shaped ideas of the East* (London: Harvard University Press, 2013).

¹¹¹ *Aleppo*¹, 243–50. Scientific terminology in Latin (*Aleppo*¹, 16–47 plants; 63–66 animals; 69–71 birds; 73–75 fish). Chapter 8, this volume.

¹¹² Brian Hanley, *Samuel Johnson as book reviewer* (London: Associated University Presses, 2001), 188.

An exploration of Armstrong's criticisms might shed light on the Russells' relative levels of scholarship. Alexander only included two Greek authorities: a description of a hyena by Aristotle (384–322 BC);¹¹³ and the intoxicating effects of hemp as described by Galen (AD 129–c.200).¹¹⁴ He recorded that 'translations of Hippocrates,¹¹⁵ Galen, Dicscorides [Dioscorides of Anazabos (AD 40–90)] and a few other ancient Greek writers' were available in Aleppo but noted that these copies were in generally 'miserably incorrect'.¹¹⁶ He quoted only two Latin authorities: Juvenal (late first or early second century AD) about passionate and lascivious dancing by Roman dancing girls in Egypt; and a description of a hyena's jaw from Pliny the Elder's famous proto-encyclopaedic *Naturalis Historia* (AD c.77–79).¹¹⁷ This encompasses the entire field of ancient knowledge including natural phenomena, botany, zoology, geography and mineralogy, as well as advances in technology. This compilation of textual authorities was later used by Patrick and was an important antecedent of eighteenth-century encyclopaedic culture.

Alexander mentioned 'in the plague our senses deceive us. Reason deceives us. The aphorisms of Hippocrates deceive us.'¹¹⁸ These are the only classical authorities mentioned by Alexander. Whilst it is clear that Armstrong's criticism of Alexander's overuse of classical authorities does not hold water, for Patrick, proper knowledge of the Orient began with a thorough study of relevant classical texts. Patrick, like many of his peers, considered that classical languages and literatures provided valuable information and intellectual rigour.

There was a revival of interest in classical authorities during the Enlightenment. Hachicho confirmed that there was a strong dependence on classical authorities in eighteenth-century travel books. Some of the more refined gentlemen who engaged in the extended 'Grand Tour' to the Levant admired classical ruins and helped to promote the popularity of travel literature. Neoclassicism in the arts coincided with the Enlightenment from about 1760, as seen in the architecture of

¹¹³ *Aleppo*¹, 59.

¹¹⁴ *Aleppo*¹, 83.

¹¹⁵ Hippocrates (c.460–c.470 BC).

¹¹⁶ *Aleppo*¹, 98–99.

¹¹⁷ *Aleppo*¹, 59.

¹¹⁸ *Aleppo*¹, 235.

Robert Adam (1728–1792) and John Adam (1721–1792) that gradually superseded earlier Dutch-influenced traditions in Scotland. This access to classical knowledge stimulated European interest in science and the humanities during the Enlightenment.

Armstrong's third criticism was that the book was 'no less superfluously stuffed with a dry register of the heights of the barometer and the various degrees of heat and cold during the course of a few years at Aleppo ... hitherto they have not contributed a vast deal to explain the various effects of the atmosphere upon the human body.' Armstrong must have completely lost the point of scientific methodology and overlooked what he had been taught in Edinburgh. Given the apparent relevance of weather data for the possible rates of death as a result of epidemic diseases, Armstrong's criticisms seem misplaced.¹¹⁹ In contrast, Johnson, in his review, found the inclusion of such data in *Aleppo* unremarkable.¹²⁰

It is unclear why Armstrong wrote such a critical review, unless he was conforming to Smollett's instructions in his Preface to the *Critical Review*. Armstrong was known to be good-natured if indolent, despising the vulgar in anyone.¹²¹ Known to be constitutionally lazy, he failed to grasp the academic and scientific value of *Aleppo*. Armstrong's critical attack may well have meant that Alexander lost enthusiasm to produce a new edition. Yet Armstrong cannot have been completely unsympathetic for he was later to write affectionately to Smollett (d.1771) who was dying of consumption in Italy: 'I am sorry to tell you that our society has lost one worthy member in Dr. Russell, who died some months ago, of a malignant fever.'¹²²

3.4.2 *The Literary Magazine*

The second major review appeared in the *Literary Magazine, or Universal Review* 2 (17 June 1756)¹²³ and was much more favourable than that of Armstrong. No doubt this review appeared in this periodical as a rebuttal to *The Critical Review* in which it

¹¹⁹ *Aleppo*¹, 167, 210.

¹²⁰ Samuel Johnson (ed.), *Literary Magazine* 1 (June 1756), 80–86.

¹²¹ Knapp, 'Dr John Armstrong'.

¹²² 28 March 1769. Tobias Smollett, *Works*, (ed.) James P. Browne (London: Bickers, 1872), i, 421.

¹²³ Samuel Johnson was the author (John Ker Spittal, *Contemporary criticisms of Dr Samuel Johnson* (London: J. Murray, 1923), 374). John Wiltshire, *Samuel Johnson in the medical world* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 115.

was in fierce competition for public attention and sales. As he stated in his aims outlined in his Preface to the *Literary Magazine*, Johnson was always ready to defend a worthy author from unreasonable criticism and to present his readers with a useful introduction to the work.¹²⁴ Johnson had just completed his own *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) so appreciated elegance and good taste but he also appreciated honesty, sensible clear descriptions, a keen eye for detail and common sense. Although little is known about the orientation of the *Literary Magazine* which began publication in 1756, its focus tended towards medical and physiological reviews and Johnson was closely involved in its promotion. As in his other works, Johnson's audience was mainly educated middle-class, eager to accumulate knowledge on every subject.

To counter Armstrong's criticisms of Alexander's style, Johnson assures his readers that Alexander has given the reader what he promised:¹²⁵ '[Alexander's] accounts have all the appearance of truth, and his stile, though it has been censured [referring no doubt to Armstrong], is no more vitious [i.e. corrupt] than many other writers, who have had better opportunities of cultivating our language.'¹²⁶ Johnson's comment on Alexander's use of language is strange, but perhaps alludes to the precise English used by educated Scotsmen. More likely, however, it may refer to an apology given in Alexander's Preface.¹²⁷ Far from warranting censure, Alexander was admirably forthright in stated aims, as Patrick later reiterated in his own modest conclusion to his Preface: 'How far the Author's abilities have been equal to the task he has undertaken, the Public will judge; and he intreats their candour.'¹²⁸ Johnson provided a kind and skilful summary of *Aleppo*,¹²⁹ the end result being to give an impression that Alexander was a much better stylist than he probably was.¹³⁰

¹²⁴ Hanley, *Samuel Johnson as book reviewer*, 152.

¹²⁵ *Aleppo*², i, v–vi.

¹²⁶ Hanley, *Samuel Johnson as book reviewer*, 189, quoting *Literary Magazine* 1 (1756), 80.

¹²⁷ *Aleppo*¹, preface, quoted in *Aleppo*², i, xviii.

¹²⁸ *Aleppo*², i, xix.

¹²⁹ D.J. Greene, 'Johnson's contributions to the *Literary Magazine*', *The Review of English Studies* 7/28 (1956), 375.

¹³⁰ Johnson, *Literary Magazine* 1/2 (15 May–15 June 1756), 80–84. Repr. in Jerónimo Lobo and Joachim Le Grand, *A Voyage to Abyssinia*, transl. Samuel Johnson (London: Elliot and Kay, 1789), 403–19.

In his review, Johnson acknowledges that *Aleppo* provided fascinating detail on Muslims: ‘The people, even the Mahometans, are not uncivil and though as in many other places the greater number cannot be much commended, yet there are not wanting honest men of every religion.’¹³¹ The Russells worked for the Levant Company which cultivated an atmosphere of mutual esteem with Muslims in an empire that controlled critical crossroads and trade routes. Many of its merchants, chaplains and physicians were fascinated by the mysterious world of Islam and the ‘Oriental other’, the inscrutable ‘Turk’ that they encountered.¹³² Many eighteenth-century European scholars, including Alexander¹³³ and Patrick,¹³⁴ relied heavily on the *Preliminary discourse to the Koran* (1734) by George Sale (c.1697–1736) as an authority on Islam.

According to John Munro, *Aleppo* ‘stands as a monument of objectivity at a time when Europeans had little interest in, and less understanding of, the Muslim faith and the lands where it was practiced.’¹³⁵ In addition to Sale, Patrick, like Sale and Gibbon, relied on pioneering research by Edward Pococke (1604–1691), chaplain in Aleppo from 1630 to 1635.¹³⁶ There are many references to Pococke’s Latin translation of Bar Hebraeus’s chronicles, *Specimen historiae Arabum* (1650) and to Pococke’s copious annotations.¹³⁷ Patrick supported the observations in the field with quotations from contemporary translations of the Qurʾān and from a range of European authorities on Islam, including Henri, comte de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722), who relied heavily on Edward Pococke’s works.¹³⁸ Sale was indebted to a Latin translation of the Qurʾān with the Arabic text by Ludovico Marracci (1612–

¹³¹ Johnson, *Literary Magazine* 1/2 (15 May–15 June 1756), 80–84.

¹³² Mather, *Pashas*, provided an excellent overview of different European attitudes to Islam.

¹³³ Alexander used this text to describe polygamy, concubines or female-slaves, and the treatment of wives under Islamic law. *Aleppo*¹, 110.

¹³⁴ Sale’s *Koran* and *Preliminary discourse* are cited many times in *Aleppo*² — on divorce, games of hazard and wine prohibited under Islam.

¹³⁵ Munro, ‘Russells of Aleppo’.

¹³⁶ Gibbon relied on Simon Oakley, d’Herbelot and Sale. There are many references to Edward Pococke’s work throughout *Aleppo*². See also Irwin, *For lust of knowing*, 93–97, 120.

¹³⁷ Bar Hebraeus aka Abū al-Faraj Grīghōr, *Specimen historiae Arabum*, transl. Edward Pococke (1648; repr. Oxford: E typographeo Clarendoniano, 1650). For more detail see Appendices.

¹³⁸ Henri, comte de Boulainvilliers, *La vie de Mahomet*, 2 vols (Amsterdam: Wetsteins & Smith, 1732). Jean Gagnier (c.1670–1740) compiled the second book to refute errors of the earlier version. Irwin, *For lust of knowing*, 116–18.

1700).¹³⁹ Marracci was cited eleven times in *Aleppo*;¹⁴⁰ yet Hadrian Reland (Adriaan Reelant), who criticized Marracci's unsympathetic attitude to Islam in *De religione Mohammedica*,¹⁴¹ was mentioned on twenty-two occasions.¹⁴² Other sources included Joseph Pitts of Exeter (c.1662–c.1739),¹⁴³ an extraordinary slave and convert to Islam.

Despite Johnson's and Gibbon's enthusiasm about *Aleppo* on Islam, *Aleppo observed* concludes with the observation that the Russells' 'clinical eye also had significant blind spots, most notably, as Lane rightly pointed out, with regard to religious customs'¹⁴⁴ but they were not allowed to enter mosques.¹⁴⁵ Whatever Lane might have written, much of the information on the religious life of Aleppo was gleaned from the Russells' own observations and discussions with the ulama.¹⁴⁶ As Robert Irwin noted, 'in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, [*Aleppo*] was regarded as the classic and authoritative source on everyday life in a Muslim country.'¹⁴⁷

Johnson shared an interest in 'physick' with Alexander, having contributed to James's *Medicinal Dictionary*,¹⁴⁸ and author of 'The Life of Boerhaave' for *The Gentleman's Magazine*.¹⁴⁹ Johnson's review of *Aleppo* was really a freely written condensation,¹⁵⁰ with straightforward descriptive 'reportage', similar in style to his review of engineer Armstrong's *History of the Island of Minorca*.¹⁵¹ Johnson included twelve columns of extracts from *Aleppo*, having chosen examples that

¹³⁹ Ludovico Marracci (transl.), *AlCorani textus universus* (Padua: Seminarii, 1698). Hourani, *History of the Arab peoples*, 13; Alistair Hamilton, 'Lutheran translator for the Quran, a late seventeenth-century quest', in Alistair Hamilton et al., *Republic of Letters and the Levant*, 197–221. Despite his recognised importance, Marracci is not mentioned in Said, *Orientalism*.

¹⁴⁰ For example, Marracci, *AlCorani*, '556:59 and 482:32' (*Aleppo*², i, 369–70, 385).

¹⁴¹ Adriaan Reelant, *Adriani Relandi de religione Mohammedica libri duo* (Utrecht, Gulielmi Broedelet, 1705).

¹⁴² *Aleppo* (1794), i, 187, 189, 197, 201, 203, 393–6, 398, 400, 403, 407–9, 417, 423, 426.

¹⁴³ Joseph Pitts, *A true and faithful account of the religion and manners of the Mohametans* (Exeter: S. Farley, 1704). *Aleppo*², i, 441. A new critical edition was published in 2012 by Paul Auchterlonie.

¹⁴⁴ *Aleppo observed*, 234.

¹⁴⁵ *Aleppo observed*, 202.

¹⁴⁶ *Aleppo*², i, 109, 178.

¹⁴⁷ Irwin, 'Life! Life!', 5–6.

¹⁴⁸ Robert James, *A medicinal dictionary*, 3 vols (London: [s.n.], 1743–1745).

¹⁴⁹ O.M. Brack, Jr and Thomas Kaminski, 'Johnson, James, and the "Medicinal dictionary"', *Modern philology*, 81/4 (1984), 378–400.

¹⁵⁰ Johnson, *Literary Magazine*.

¹⁵¹ Anon, Review of *History of the island of Minorca*, *Literary Magazine* 1/1 (1756), 11–14.

‘deserve particular regard’ rather than extracts from its weaker sections. Johnson described it as ‘Russell’s essentially meritorious but at times ineptly conveyed commentary on the climate, population and natural features of an Arabian city and its environs.’¹⁵² He provided five columns on the plague and vignettes of Aleppine daily life, such as: ‘when they are at home they amuse themselves with chess’.¹⁵³

*Aleppo*¹ would have appealed to Johnson who was fascinated by travel writing and had translated *A voyage to Abyssinia* by the Portuguese missionary Jerónimo Lobo (1593–1678), himself.¹⁵⁴ In the review Johnson provided descriptions from *Aleppo*¹, written in a similar style to those he gave for various African animals in *A voyage to Abyssinia*: the ‘hyena ... of which our author had the opportunity of examining one that was killed’; the ‘*serpent* extremely venomous’; ‘the *sheep* with the *great* tail’, and various species of camel.¹⁵⁵

3.4.3 *The Monthly Review*

According to Hanley,¹⁵⁶ the third review of *Aleppo*¹, in the *Monthly Review* in August 1756, was by Gregory Sharpe LLD, FRS, FSA (1713–1771).¹⁵⁷ In competition with the Tory-influenced *Critical Review*, the more liberal and widely read *Monthly Review*, founded in 1749 by Ralph Griffiths (1720–1803), was designed to describe systematically all books published each month in Britain. Again, a review in the *Monthly* could have significant impact on an author’s reputation. Sharpe was well qualified to review *Aleppo*, having substantial linguistic and theological expertise,¹⁵⁸ a shared interest in natural history and owner of a fine collection of Oriental manuscripts. Sharpe’s review begins with a description of Aleppo and acknowledges the importance of Arab ‘learned men’, in particular ‘Omar

¹⁵² Hanley, *Samuel Johnson as book reviewer*, 187.

¹⁵³ Hanley, *Samuel Johnson as book reviewer*, 68, 152, 170, 187–90.

¹⁵⁴ Lobo, *Voyage to Abyssinia*.

¹⁵⁵ From Johnson’s review of *Aleppo*: quoted in Greene, ‘Johnson’s contributions’, 372.

¹⁵⁶ Hanley, *Samuel Johnson as book reviewer*, 187.

¹⁵⁷ Sharpe, ‘Russell’s *Natural History of Aleppo*’.

¹⁵⁸ Sharpe’s publications included *A dissertation upon the origin and structure of the Latin tongue* (London: [s.n.], 1751); *Seven letters containing a new and easy method of learning the Hebrew language* (London: John Millar, 1751) and *An argument in defence of Christianity* (London: John Millar [1755]).

ben Abdaliziz who wrote the history of Aleppo in ten volumes'.¹⁵⁹ Sharpe appreciated the value of Maundrell's travelogue¹⁶⁰ and *Bibliothèque orientale*.¹⁶¹ Although Sharpe's review of *Aleppo* was little more than a bland summary with extracts, he generously praised its publication:

On the whole, as we have very little knowlege [sic] that can be depended on, of a great part of the world for want of reading the Arabian authors, we should own our obligations to such writers as the Author of the *Natural History of Aleppo*; who, with great fidelity and sufficient abilities, adds to our store of knowlege [sic], both in natural and political history.¹⁶²

Furthermore, 'Our accounts of Syria are very imperfect we have no chart of that country that deserves any notice. And therefore the public is obliged to Dr Russel [sic] for the information he has communicated.'¹⁶³

Probably as a result of Armstrong's harsh review, Sharpe, like Johnson, noted that Alexander apologized for his style of writing, and provided extracts so readers could judge for themselves whether such an apology was necessary. Sharpe quotes extensively from *Aleppo*, providing excerpts about the landscape, bazaars, gardens and houses of Aleppo; its population, seasons, vegetation and many curious aspects of Aleppine culture and music. The drawings of 'some of the most curious plants' by the 'ingenious Mr Ehret' are noted, as are its other illustrations.

It is clear from the various criticisms of *Aleppo*¹ that by the mid-eighteenth century entertaining works that were written in an elegant style were much admired. Regularity and conformity of style were important attributes of the text. Exotic details, as much as careful observations, needed to be situated in eloquent narrative. Indeed, a carefully crafted written style with much emphasis on its 'elegance' and 'timing' of its narrative was taken to be an indication of a gentleman. It was this sense of elegance and *belles lettres*, the aesthetic qualities of the writing, that Patrick

¹⁵⁹ Translated as *The cream of Halib*, in a footnote by Sharpe, 'Russell's *Natural History of Aleppo*: i.e. Kamāl al-Dīn ʿUmar ibn Aḥmad ibn al-ʿAẓīm, *Zubdat al-ḥalab min Tārīkh Ḥalab* (*The cream of the milk from the History of Aleppo*), published: Beirut: Dār al-Kutub al-ʿIlmiyyah, 1996.

¹⁶⁰ Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*.

¹⁶¹ Bartholomé d'Herbelot, de Molainville, *Bibliothèque orientale* (Maastricht: Jean Edme Dufour & Philippe Roux, 1776).

¹⁶² [Gregory Sharpe], 'The natural history of Aleppo and parts adjacent. ... By Alexander Russel MD 4¹⁰ 15s Millar', *Monthly Review* 15 (August 1756), 135–46 (146).

¹⁶³ [Sharpe], *Monthly Review* 15 (1756), 146.

was determined to address in *Aleppo*² with moving clarity. Appropriately, a memorial note stated that

Dr [Patrick] Russell's writings are remarkable for perspicuity of style and unaffected simplicity. His unassuming manner of expressing himself serves only to engage the reader to rely more implicitly on what he says and convince him of his scrupulous integrity.¹⁶⁴

3.4.4 Reviews of *Aleppo*²

This section will focus on reviews of *Aleppo*² to discover how they might have encouraged the popularity of the book. Although there were several reviews of the 1756 edition at the time it was published, there were a few substantial contemporary reviews of *Aleppo*², in *The Monthly Review*,¹⁶⁵ and in two new periodicals *The English Review* (1794)¹⁶⁶ and the *British Critic* (1794–1795).¹⁶⁷ No review in Smollett's *Critical Review* has yet been identified. As with *Aleppo*¹, popular periodicals, such as *The Scot's Magazine*,¹⁶⁸ published intriguing excerpts from *Aleppo*², thus enabling the work to reach a wide audience.

3.4.4.1 *The Monthly Review*

*The Monthly Review*¹⁶⁹ followed a set model for reviews which consisted of an opening paragraph about the author; 66% extracts and summaries of the book under consideration, and 33% an evaluation, followed by a concluding recommendation.¹⁷⁰ The critic points out that it was essentially a new work; that it was 'striking and useful' that the arbitrariness of the earlier order of *Aleppo*¹ had been systematized into books; but that changes to the original text had not been specifically identified. The appendix on principal Arabic medical writers is praised; the section on the plague merely repeats what was in Patrick's *Treatise*. The critic's recommendation was that the title of 'Natural History' was inappropriate 'for a book which in its present state contains so large a proportion of civil history and the description of

¹⁶⁴ [Home?], 'Memoirs', 8; also in *The Scots Magazine* (November 1811), 904–10 (910).

¹⁶⁵ *Monthly Review* 18 (1795), 251–8.

¹⁶⁶ *English Review* 24 (1794), 81–86; 185–95.

¹⁶⁷ 'Russel's Aleppo', *British Critic* 4 (1794), 461–7; 5 (1795), 12–17. *The British Critic*, founded in 1793 by two clergymen, Robert Nares and William Beloe, who worked at the British Museum.

¹⁶⁸ Alexander, 'Manners of the Turks in Aleppo', *The Scot's Magazine* 56 (October 1794), 601–3; In July 1794, Patrick's *Treatise* was briefly and favourably reviewed therein, 411.

¹⁶⁹ *Monthly Review* 18 (1795), 251–8.

¹⁷⁰ James Fieser, 'The eighteenth-century British reviews of Hume's writings', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 57/4 (1996), 645–57.

manners and customs'. The time of all-encompassing natural histories was apparently over.

The English Review, which ran from 1783 to 1795, recorded that the 'first edition of this valuable work ... has been received with much approbation, not only in our island and the distant dependencies of the British empire but on the continent of Europe as appears from writers in different languages.'¹⁷¹ The reviewer recognized the wider significance of *Aleppo*², providing a useful argument which should be brought to modern scholars' attention:

This publication [*Aleppo*]... has another tendency, and that of great moral, commercial, and political importance. It has a tendency, to wear away antipathies, to soften prejudices, and to unite nations in social sympathy and indulgence. ... Science elevates the mind above passion; the imitative arts inspire a degree of sympathy with human nature in all situations.¹⁷²

The English Review highlighted Alexander's reservations about the first volume, for being too concise, for not providing enough background or context for the 'restraint he had imposed on himself in his account of the oriental customs by considering it as chiefly subservient to the medical part of his work.'¹⁷³ This review then listed the topics of the chapters and provided several exotic excerpts from the text (on the harem, the table of Turkish grandees, education of Turkish ladies, on funeral ceremonies, horses &c.). Above all, it is full of praise:

There is in the work ... an air of candour, a love of truth, a modesty, and gentleman-like manner, that prepossesses the reader in favour of the authors; and he is pleased to find such laudable and amiable dispositions in conjunction with great erudition, judicious observation, and sound sense.¹⁷⁴

However, there were two specific queries that can be identified in this review: (1) was Patrick's Arabic inadequate? (2) Were there potential biases from using Volney's work? These questions raise many important issues about the reliability of *Aleppo*²'s intellectual content and its possible appeal to a wide audience, and are explored in more depth below.

¹⁷¹ *English Review* (1794), 194–5.

¹⁷² *English Review* (1794), 195.

¹⁷³ *English Review* (1794), 81.

¹⁷⁴ *English Review* (1794), 195.

(1) Was Patrick's Arabic inadequate?

An indication of an author's ability to appreciate another culture depends on being able to communicate and to understand the 'other'. Alexander

quickly mastered the language and so began practice with a greater advantage than had earlier Christian physicians. Franks, Greeks, Armenians, Jews or Turks — he was consulted by all nationalities, ranks and professions. They forgot that he was an unbeliever and did not treat him with their usual contempt for strangers, even courting his friendship and placing unlimited confidence in his opinion.¹⁷⁵

The first criticism in *The English Review* (1794) was that Patrick's Arabic was inadequate, based on the following quotation,

The chapter on Literature might have been rendered much more interesting, by one more conversant in Oriental Learning. All the Editor has presumed to attempt, is such an imperfect account, as a very moderate knowledge of the Arabic language, enabled him to collect in conversation with the Ullama sketch of Arabic learning; not as preserved in the neglected volumes of ancient Authors, but as it exists at present at Aleppo. To this sketch are added copious Notes, compiled from various Books.¹⁷⁶

Lane claimed that neither brother had sufficient command of Arabic 'to scrutinize some of the most interesting subjects of inquiry which the plan of the work required them to treat.'¹⁷⁷ This was not only incorrect¹⁷⁸ but uncharacteristically distasteful, as will become clear throughout this thesis. Boogert questioned the quality of Patrick's Arabic as well,¹⁷⁹ basing his argument largely on a sample of Patrick's handwriting in Arabic in a note to William Hunter made in 1766, now in the Hunterian collection at the University of Glasgow.¹⁸⁰ This note, probably drafted about 1766 when Patrick was in Aleppo, discussed 'Historia Monetie Arabicae', a manuscript listed in Casiri's *Bibliotheca Arabico-Hispania Escorialensis*, xi. This treatise was written by Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad al-Maqrīzī (1364–1441), a great Mamlūk polymath.¹⁸¹ Without other examples of Patrick's Arabic handwriting, it is difficult

¹⁷⁵ Fothergill, *Essay*.

¹⁷⁶ *Aleppo*², i, xiv–xv.

¹⁷⁷ Lane, *Manners and Customs*, iv.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. *Aleppo observed*, 231.

¹⁷⁹ Boogert, 'Patrick Russell', 238, 241.

¹⁸⁰ Glasgow University Library GB 0247 MS Hunter H465. Note on *Bibliotheca Arabico-hispana Escorialensis* Tom:11 Cod:1766. *Historia Monetie Arabicae* written in the 15th century by al-Maqrīzī, on the introduction of Arabic money. 'Handwriting Patrick Russel. 1766. Notes: Cf. letter from Patrick Russell to William Hunter — Hunter-Baillie Papers, Royal College of Surgeons, London, Vol. i, Letters to William Hunter from friends, No. GU 80 2502. There is also a sample of Hunt's writing in Arabic script' (GB 0247 MS Farmer 561).

¹⁸¹ Julie Scott Meisami and Paul Starkey, *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature* 2 vols (London: Routledge 1998), i, 509.

to be definitive about his Arabic, though his writing in a letter in English was neat and readable.¹⁸² Furthermore, Fanny Burney described Patrick's poor eyesight in 1775 (and again in 1790).¹⁸³

Additionally, though short vowels are not written in Arabic, Patrick transliterated them as well, though there were occasions where his transliteration appears to reflect dialect rather than the correct standard Arabic form, e.g. 'jible' rather than *jabal* for hill. Again, "Dirb, Dirb al Hakeem Gia-y" (Way, Way! The doctor is coming)',¹⁸⁴ spoken by the male superintendent of the women's quarters (Turkish: *harem kahyası*) after the physician has knocked to enter, was a transcription of the phrase in Syrian dialect. However, Patrick was clearly familiar with the language and understood the differences between 'vulgar' and 'literary' Arabic:

The pronunciation of the pure Arabic is widely different from that of the vulgar tongue, being always read with the vowels distinctly exprest; and, besides giving a full sound to the vowels, the pronunciation of the learned Arabic is remarkable, on account of what is termed nunnation, which consists in doubling the vowel points at the end of words, and reading as if they terminated with the letter N. Thus the word Ridgil a man, written and pronounced in the common way without the vowel points, is in the language of the learned, pointed, and read Rajulon, the vowel point, 'o, u, or ou being doubled' (which is the nunnation) having the same effect as if the word ended in N.¹⁸⁵

Over time there might be changes in vocabulary; thus, Alexander uses the Persian *bāzār* rather than the Arabic *sūq* but Patrick added *sook* as a synonym in his own version: 'Spook سوق, Bazar بازار is Persian and Turkish'.¹⁸⁶ Such supplementary material did much to convince any reader of *Aleppo*'s authority and reliability.

One could argue that Patrick had an extraordinary ability to use Arabic works and this facility makes *Aleppo*² such an exceptional book. Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna, c.980–1037) was the only Arabic authority given by Alexander and he probably used Latin translations rather than Arabic or Persian.¹⁸⁷ In contrast, Patrick refers to many Arabic authorities, including a list of the principal Arabic medical writers and 'a

¹⁸² Letter of 18 December 1778, Patrick to Niebuhr, now in the library of the Christian-Albrechts-Universität zu Kiel, Germany, reproduced in Boogert, 'Patrick Russell', 250.

¹⁸³ Burney, *Early Diary of Frances Burney*.

¹⁸⁴ *Aleppo*², i, 245. .

¹⁸⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 96–97, Note XX.

¹⁸⁶ *Aleppo*¹, 6; *Aleppo*², i, 20. Garland Hampton Cannon and Alan S. Kaye, *The Persian Contributions to the English Language* (Weisbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2001), 10–11; Starkey, 'Khan al-Jumruk'.

¹⁸⁷ *Aleppo*¹, 98. See also Irwin, *For lust of knowing*, 29–30, 32, 33.

compressed account of the introduction of the Greek physic among the Saracens in Spain'.¹⁸⁸ He certainly relied on translations and synopses, such as those provided in *Bibliothèque orientale*,¹⁸⁹ a detailed encyclopaedia in French, a landmark that introduced the French reading public to the history of Arabs, Persians and Turks.¹⁹⁰ Patrick used the *Bibliotheca arabico-hispaña escurialensis*¹⁹¹ compiled by a Lebanese Maronite bibliographer, Miguel [Michaelis] Casiri (1710–1791), after cataloguing over 1,800 manuscripts in the Royal Escorial (Escorial) Library.¹⁹² Patrick mentions Kurdish scholar-ruler and physician, Abū al-Fidā (d.1331),¹⁹³ ʿIzz al-Dīn Muḥammad Ibn Shaddād (b.1217 Aleppo–d.1285 Cairo) and Muḥammad Ibn al-Shiḥnah (d.1485), from Aleppo, who wrote *al-Durr al-muntakhab fī taʾrīkh Ḥalab* (*Selected pearls in a history of Aleppo*).¹⁹⁴

Nevertheless, although Patrick used compilations and translations such as *Bibliothèque orientale* and *Bibliotheca arabico-hispaña escurialensis*, he was also a fine linguist and excellent Arabist. Although Alexander transliterated some local words in *Aleppo*¹, Patrick used far more Arabic and Ottoman Turkish words and phrases in his footnotes, for plant names and geographical locations. Alexander established an 'extensive practice among all ranks and degrees of people' and learnt to speak Arabic fluently for it was an important attribute for any physician in the city — and Patrick did likewise: he was scathing about those merchants who did not bother to learn Arabic.¹⁹⁵ In a diary written in Aleppo dated 1753, Patrick 'is the best Arabian in the factory, but this is only known to some of us by report',¹⁹⁶ which does

¹⁸⁸ *Aleppo*², i, xiv–xv.

¹⁸⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, 176.

¹⁹⁰ Irwin, *Lust of knowing*, 114 points out its belle-lettristic flavour and sees it as a forerunner to Th. Houtsma et al., (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 4 vols. and Suppl. (Leiden: E.J. Brill and London: Luzac, 1913–1938).

¹⁹¹ Miguel Casiri, *Bibliotheca arabico-hispaña escurialensis*, 2 vols (Madrid: Antonius Perez de Soto, 1760–1770).

¹⁹² Quoted in Anon, 'Moslem histories of Spain [3]', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* 342/55 (1844), 431.

¹⁹³ Irwin, *Lust of knowing*, 92–93, 99, 102, 118, 128.

¹⁹⁴ *Aleppo*², i, 348. Ibn Shaddād, *The rare and excellent history*, 53. *Aleppo observed*, 225, suggests that this was by Ibn al-Khaṭīb.

¹⁹⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 2.

¹⁹⁶ NAL, SP 110/74, fragment of a diary, 8 November 1753, in Ambrose, 'English traders at Aleppo', 267; probably by the trader Eleazar Edwards (*Aleppo observed*, 32). Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, 138–9, identified a fragment of a letter in SP 110/74 as being by Jasper Shaw to 'Sozy', i.e. Eleazar Edwards.

not get us any nearer to gauging the standard of his Arabic. In 1772 *munshī* Ismāʿīl described engaging in conversation with Patrick in Bath:

[Patrick] was able to speak Arabic, and as the Munshi himself was not deficient in Arabic, he was much gratified to spend his time in conversation with him. [Patrick] was pleased with the appropriate answers the Munshi gave in Arabic; and the time in which the Munshi spent thus conversing became a source of pride for his employer [Claud Russell] who with his knowledge of Persian followed and understood the conversation.¹⁹⁷

Certainly by 1795 Patrick's Arabic can be considered exceptional for a Scottish physician,¹⁹⁸ as Reverend William Beloe (1756–1817) described in *Miscellanies*:

My friend, Dr Russell, brought with him a small volume from Aleppo from which at different times he recited to me so much that I became impatient to hear more. My importunity finally prevailed, and at various intervals his kindness induced him to dictate, in the best manner he could, from the Arabic, whilst I performed the humble office of scribe.¹⁹⁹

One is inclined to agree with a statement in Patrick's obituary: 'he was a man of learning and wit; spoke the Arabic, which he acquired during a long residence at Aleppo, with the fluency of his mother tongue; and was of a most friendly and benevolent-disposition.'²⁰⁰

(2) Use of French authorities

The review of *Aleppo*² raised issues over potential political biases: 'in the writings of Volney and other French speculators in Syria and Egypt, the actual state of facts is sometimes shaded and distorted by ideal theories and abstract lucubrations.'²⁰¹ This probably refers to a specific incident. The French savant and politician, le comte Constantin François Chassboeuf Volney (1757–1820),²⁰² who visited Aleppo in 1783, described its people, politics and antiquities, probably with great accuracy, in his *Voyage en Syrie*, an important authority for Patrick.²⁰³ In his *Voyage en Syrie* Volney drew on many of the same French authorities as those used by Patrick. They included Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605–1689), diamond merchant and remarkable

¹⁹⁷ Simon Digby's unpublished translation of *munshī* Ismāʿīl's 'Tārīkh-i Jadīd'.

¹⁹⁸ Patrick also translated Arabic tracts for Channing and William Hunter (see Chapter 5).

¹⁹⁹ William Beloe, 'Preface'. *Miscellanies* (London: F. & C. Rivington, 1795). Boogert, 'Antar Overseas', 348.

²⁰⁰ *Gentleman's Magazine* 75 (1805), 683; repr. Edmund Burke (ed.), *Annual register or a view of the history, politics and literature for the year 1805* (London: W. Otridge, 1807), 487.

²⁰¹ *English Review* (1794), 195.

²⁰² Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*.

²⁰³ Bonaparte was one of its many readers (Irwin, *Lust of knowing*, 134–6).

traveller;²⁰⁴ d'Herbelot; Chevalier Laurent d'Arvieux (1635–1702), French consul in Smyrna and then Aleppo between 1679 and 1686 and a favourite of Louis XIV;²⁰⁵ Despite some inaccuracies,²⁰⁶ these were, for Patrick, an excellent, useful and impartial source of curious information: 'as regards the spirit of the Turks in their political conduct, as well as their general character, [d'Arvieux's] remarks are more acute, and his accounts more impartial, than almost any to be found in the works of travellers who have collected information through the medium of interpreters.'²⁰⁷

Volney and Patrick also used romantic descriptions of an idealized Greece under the domination of the Ottoman empire by le comte de Choiseil-Gouffiere, French ambassador to the Porte from 1784. In 1791 Choiseil-Gouffiere fled to Russia to escape the guillotine and the French Revolution and gained the lasting patronage of Empress of Russia, Catherine II.²⁰⁸ In contrast, after his *Voyage en Syrie* was published in 1787, Volney was embroiled in a controversy after a copy of this work was presented in 1787 to the Empress of Russia by Baron de Grimm; in return, she sent Volney a gold medal which, at the start of the French Revolution, he returned and was subsequently branded anti-royalist.²⁰⁹ One of Volney's 'ideal theories', which the critic also noted, was in *Les Ruines*, which anticipated a final union of all religions.²¹⁰ Patrick also discussed Jacques Cazotte's continuation, *Suite des Mille et une Nuits*.²¹¹ Coincidentally, Cazotte was guillotined in the Place du Carousel on 25 September 1792, at the age of 73. Patrick was not necessarily making a political statement on behalf of the insurgents by including Volney, Cazotte or Choiseul-

²⁰⁴ Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *The six voyages of John Baptista Tavernier*, 2 volumes (London: John Starkey, 1678).

²⁰⁵ d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*; idem, *Voyage fait par ordre du roy Louis XIV* (Paris: André Cailleau, 1717). Régine Goutalier, *Le Chevalier d'Arvieux* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997); Hussein I. El-Mudarris and Olivier Salmon, *Le consulat de France à Alep au XVIII^e siècle* (Aleppo: Ray Publishing, 2009).

²⁰⁶ *Aleppo*², i, 351–2, citing [A.L.M. Pétis de la Croix], *Lettres critiques de Hadgi Mehemmed Efendy à Mde la Marquise de G**** (Paris, [s.n.], 1735).

²⁰⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 351.

²⁰⁸ Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* (Paris: [s.n.], 1782).

²⁰⁹ *Réponse de M. le baron de Grimm, chargé des affaires de Sa Majesté l'impératrice des Russies, à Paris, à la lettre de M. Chasseboeuf de Volney, en date du 4 décembre 1791* (Paris: [s.n.], 1792). Translated in *Gentleman's Magazine* 148 (1830), 387–390. A member of the Estates-General and the National Constituent Assembly, the effective government after the storming of the Bastille in 1789, Volney was later thrown in prison but escaped the guillotine.

²¹⁰ Constantin-François Volney, *Les Ruines, ou méditations sur les révolutions des empires* (Paris: Desenne, 1791) was to become influential in the Picturesque Romantic movement.

²¹¹ *Aleppo*², i, 385.

Gouffier, but tensions were high throughout Europe with people frightened by the excesses of the Revolution, even if they ignored Ottoman domination of the eastern Mediterranean.

Nevertheless, the critic acknowledged that ‘many ingenious travellers, particularly French travellers, have treated a country in which from early associations of ideas, we are all so much interested.’²¹² Many were mentioned in *Aleppo*² such as accounts by traveller and jeweller, Sir Jean Chardin (1643–1713), who produced one of the best early studies of Persia,²¹³ and the French botanist Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708).²¹⁴ Many of these French authorities and *Aleppo* were also named by nineteenth-century American biblical scholars, such as Dr William Smith²¹⁵ and Augustin Calmet,²¹⁶ as the principal authorities on Islam and the Levant. *Aleppo*’s influences on biblical studies could be a major topic for future research.

In the light of criticism about including references to French writers there is one important quotation that needs to be discussed. Patrick relied on *The History of Physic* by the English physician John Freind FRS (1675–1728), as a major source for his own notes on Arabic writers.²¹⁷ Pertinent here is a quotation by Freind, attributed to the Orientalist Eusèbe Renaudot (1646–1720): ‘I believe one may venture to affirm that the Arabian learning, however magnified by their own nation, and by some European moderns, was entirely derived from the Greeks: and this race of men was so far from making great improvements in any science, that whatever they translated or imitated they made worse.’²¹⁸ This is, of course, classical Orientalist rhetoric about Islamic science²¹⁹ and Patrick’s appendix illuminates the inadequacies of Freind’s work. Patrick pointed to Freind’s failure to appreciate Arabic authorities because he did not read Arabic and was thus not sufficiently empathetic with Arabic

²¹² *English Review* (1794), 195.

²¹³ Sir John Chardin, *Voyages du chevalier Chardin, en Perse, et autres lieux de l’Orient*, 6 vols (Amsterdam: la Compagnie, 1735) (*Aleppo*², i, 417, 441).

²¹⁴ Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Relation d’un voyage du Levant* (Paris: [s.n.], 1717).

²¹⁵ *Dr William Smith’s Dictionary of the Bible* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1869).

²¹⁶ Augustin Calmet, *Dictionary of the Holy Bible* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1832).

²¹⁷ John Freind, *History of Physick from the time of Galen* (London: [s.n.], 1725–1726).

²¹⁸ *Aleppo*², ii, 120 quoting Freind, *History of Physick*, ii, 19 who cited Eusèbe Renaudot. Identified as ‘Letter to M. Dacier’, in Johann Albert Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Graeca* (Hamburg: C. Liebezeit & T.C. Felginer, 1705), i, 861–3 — a source used on eleven occasions in *Aleppo*².

²¹⁹ Andrew Newman, personal communication.

culture. What is significant here was that Patrick, in opposition to Renaudot, used the quotation to reject Freind's stance.

3.4.4.2 *The British Critic* and other reviews of *Aleppo*²

The second review of *Aleppo*² under consideration appeared in *The British Critic*, which ran from 1793 to 1826. The reviewer, possibly Patrick's friend Beloe, enthusiastically praised the book:

A work, which must ever rank very high in the catalogue of literature ... Dr Russel [sic] ... communicates all which the title of his volumes teaches the public to expect, but he does a great deal more. *The History of Aleppo* exhibits a model, which future writers on similar subjects will do well to imitate. It systematically pursues its end, and yet is agreeably diversified, not by trifling or unimportant discussions. Nor has he refuge for enlarging his book to dull and uninteresting anecdotes, but the whole may fairly be considered as forming a material portion of the history of man, as it is connected with the productions of nature, the vicissitudes of climate and of manners, the system of morals and the ways of Providence.²²⁰

The critic outlined Patrick's rationale for editing Alexander's work from the preface of *Aleppo*², described the structure of the volumes, and continued: 'having affirmed that the whole is executed with skill, taste and ability, our task should seem to be fulfilled. Dr Russel's [sic] character is too well established to require farther encomium from us.'²²¹ Furthermore, the reviewer declared that few deserve 'a more exalted place than Doctor Alexander Russel [sic], the author of the first edition of the present most entertaining and interesting work.'²²²

To conclude this section, it may be worth summarising the main criticisms of the reviewers, partly to assess the quality and appeal of *Aleppo*, and partly to shed light on the intricate relationships between the two editions. Armstrong highlighted (1) poor style in *Aleppo*¹ which, in fact, did not appear to make the volume less popular, filled as it was with fascinating details; (2) over-reliance on classical texts: a criticism that shed poorer light on the critic than the author; and (3) superfluous data and meteorological records: again showing no empathy with contemporary scientific exploration. (4) Johnson commented favourably on Alexander's representation of Islam. (5) *The English Review* questioned Patrick's knowledge of Arabic; and (6)

²²⁰ *British Critic* 5 (1795), 12–17.

²²¹ *British Critic* 5 (1795), 12–17.

²²² *British Critic* 4 (1794), 461.

Potential biases in French travelogues used by Patrick at a time when Europe was in turmoil during the French Revolution.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that *Aleppo*¹ caught the imagination of a readership eager to discover unusual places. Identifying the book as part of a genre, such as travel writing, supports the notion of continuity, and such genres usefully provide overarching motifs within which to study a text. Thus the chapter began by locating *Aleppo* within the Scottish Enlightenment, the genre of ‘natural history’ and the newly flourishing genre of ‘books of travel’. It then considered the various ways that *Aleppo* became popular in the eighteenth century through translation, compendia, excerpts in periodicals, and reviews in important journals. Its popularity depended on making the exotic ordinary; for the eighteenth-century reader of *Aleppo*, marvels and wonders were presented as if they were natural yet fresh: the mundane became exotic and understandable.

*Aleppo*¹ became embroiled in a competition between new and increasingly influential rival literary review periodicals, as a result, received closer scrutiny and more petty criticisms than might have been expected. One critic was keen to rebut the other and others, stimulated by the fight, joined in. This does not mean that the criticisms meant that the book was bad: quite the contrary. To be mentioned in erudite and exciting new periodicals was far better than being ignored. To be reviewed immediately after publication was a major achievement and would have stimulated considerable and wide public interest.

Whatever criticisms were made of Alexander’s written style, they did not apply to *Aleppo*² for whom refinement of style enhanced its intellectual value. *Aleppo*² was not just a synthesis of other scholarship, as a review of *Aleppo*² concluded: ‘from actual observation and from much reading as well as *viva voce* investigation, the two Russells have produced a publication that gives us a clearer insight into the natural and moral phenomena of Syria than any other with which we are acquainted.’²²³ As *The English Review* confirmed, what Patrick had added ‘is either from his own

²²³ *English Review* (1794), 195.

experience or from verbal information collected on the spot. His remarks may therefore be considered as accidentally confirming the testimony of those travellers with whose observations they may happen to coincide.’²²⁴ It is hard to identify any other eighteenth-century text of the natural history genre, apart from *Aleppo*², that achieved as much empathy with local people and provided intimate medical interpretations alongside scientific observations. It is a tome of superb, careful and refined scholarship from the late eighteenth century that can be much admired for its substance. Its thoroughness is almost impossible to fault. Yet it was the equally honest but disordered, enthusiastic, delightful *Aleppo*¹ that was so popular amongst readers in the eighteenth century

Life was changing rapidly in Europe towards the end of the eighteenth century. Europe was in turmoil following the French Revolution. The Industrial Revolution was beginning throughout Britain in the decade when *Aleppo*² was published. The effect of commercial exploitation abroad and the application of scientific innovations were beginning to make an impact. The sophisticated culture and rationalist virtues of the Enlightenment were becoming less significant in the light of mechanical innovations. The Ottoman empire was stagnating in an period of failed reforms. British trade in the Levant was declining as Britain and France were extending their empires into India, Africa, Oceania and the Americas. Power balances were shifting.

The interests of the European reading public moved away from the Ottoman empire towards the countries where European states were gaining imperialist control. By the mid-nineteenth century, Scotland itself had become a depressing provincial region pursuing faded illusions of nationhood with apparently little to offer in terms of cultural innovation and enlightenment.²²⁵ By the beginning of the nineteenth century, *Aleppo* did nothing to provide a comfortable story of national progress for its European readers, especially as it portrayed part of the Ottoman empire that, by the mid-nineteenth century, had become the ‘sick man of Europe’. Pragmatically Scotland continued to provide enlightened cultural and intellectual influences beyond its borders but *Aleppo*, however worthy, had gone, temporarily, out of fashion.

²²⁴ *English Review* (1794), 83.

²²⁵ David Allan, *Virtue, learning and the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 231–41.

Chapter 4

Analysing *Aleppo*. Inspirations and authorities

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter located *Aleppo* within the Scottish Enlightenment with its sophisticated genre of ‘natural history’, as well as its place within the newly flourishing genre of ‘books of travel’. The various ways that *Aleppo* became popular in the eighteenth century were then reviewed. In order to comprehend the increased quality of *Aleppo*² it will be essential to analyse how it differs from *Aleppo*¹. Whilst *Aleppo*¹ was cheerful and slightly unpolished yet still objective, it was replaced by more systematic description in *Aleppo*². The first section of this chapter will explore the basic structure of the two editions and investigate how the second edition developed from the first. Continuing an assessment of the two editions, the second section will focus on literary devices and apparatuses. The third section will explore, for the first time, the influences of other books and traditions on the style and format of *Aleppo*. Citing many examples, the fourth section will discuss the range of bibliographic authorities used, particularly by Patrick, to substantiate his own edition. The chapter will conclude with a close examination of the editorial process as *Aleppo*¹ was transformed into *Aleppo*².

Unlike many travel accounts of the time, *Aleppo* was not structured around the authors’ experiences, interspersed by commentary. Instead, as identified in Chapter 2, there were two experts involved, living at two different periods in the eighteenth century, each with their own style and ideas about how to structure the text(s). As much personal information and trivial detail as possible was excluded from both editions of *Aleppo*, so they were both elaborate but readable texts, structured on a series of relevant topics. Alexander wrote in the third person singular and Patrick avoided using the first-person singular.¹ In both volumes of *Aleppo*² there were

¹ Boogert, ‘Patrick Russell’, 231, citing a note sent to William Hunter of the draft of the medical parts of *Aleppo*², lodged with the Royal College of Surgeons of England, London, 4 June [...].

detailed scholarly notes and appendices, as well as illustrations that appeared in the earlier edition.

It is easy to see that *Aleppo*¹ contained much original material but this study will aim to identify why *Aleppo*² can also be considered to be a pioneering work. Edited by Patrick, it contained a wealth of fascinating well-verified information about Aleppo. In this chapter the complex inter-relationships² between the two texts will be investigated in order ‘to identify and then explore the creative tensions between present and past that are an intrinsic part of the reading of any text’³ and to understand the historical and literary value of the two editions. Whilst *Aleppo*¹ was essentially a straightforward simple description, *Aleppo*² would appear to be ‘a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture’.⁴ As this chapter will demonstrate, the Russells built upon conventional practice and contemporary models though, as previous chapters have shown, Alexander was not rigorous in their application. In contrast, Patrick took up challenges set by Alexander to provide a sophisticated and thorough, even overworked, composition.

4.1 Structures

4.1.1 *Aleppo*¹

The first edition, by ‘Alex. Russell, MD’,⁵ was published in London in 1756 by the great Scottish bookseller, Andrew Millar (1707–1768), opposite Catherine Street, in the Strand, London.⁶ The quarto monograph, with its large print, contained illustrations, footnotes and wide margins. It conformed to Kirkpatrick’s description of the characteristic travel book of the eighteenth century as ‘a ponderous quarto or folio, handsomely printed, often beautifully illustrated, and conveying much leisurely

² The comparison was inspired by Kristeva’s literary motif of ‘intertextuality’, developed by Gérard Genette, *Palimpsestes. La littérature au second degré* (Paris: Seuil, 1982), 10, and defined as the effective presence of a text in another text with various levels of textual relations under its umbrella.

³ Roger Allen, ‘Intertextuality and retrospect’, in Luc-Willy Deheuvels, Barbara Michalak-Pikulska and Paul Starkey (eds), *Intertextuality in modern Arabic literature since 1967* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), 1–12 (2).

⁴ Barthes, ‘Death of the author’.

⁵ Some copies of *Aleppo* give its author as ‘Alexander Russell of Elgin’ i.e. indicating Alexander was heir to his uncle of that name (see Chapter 2 for details).

⁶ *Aleppo*², i, xiii.

information concerning monuments, customs and costumes.’⁷ Alexander began writing *Aleppo* shortly after his arrival in Aleppo, where he made notes on every detail of the area and its peoples, as well as fauna, flora, climate and weather records, and the culture of the region. Although his primary interest was in medicine and natural history, Alexander covered an extraordinary range of topics and there was much ethnographic detail: everything from history to music, from the coffee-houses to social organization of the Aleppine community. There were descriptions of birds, animals (domestic and wild), trees and flowers. Local diseases and epidemics such as the ‘Aleppo boil’⁸ and the plague⁹ were recorded between 1742 and 1753.¹⁰

The first edition was organized without a contents page but was divided into separate parts; these parts were variously divided into chapters and/or sections of chapters. These are outlined in Figure 3, below, in which the contents of the two editions are compared. There are no headers apart from the general part title or sub-headings in this first Part (1–144). This was not what Alexander had intended as he wrote in his Preface: ‘The different subjects in the first part were intended to have been pointed out, by varying the running-title according to the subject; but, by mistake, this was omitted till too late.’¹¹ The sections in the second part of the book were all given appropriate subject headers. The second part of *Aleppo*¹ was more carefully typeset than the first part but organized into disconnected sections. It lacked a coherent plan or flowing argument. This all suggests that in a rush to publish the book, the printers became careless or that proofs of the book (if any were made) were not checked sufficiently before it went to press. This book was even published with the wrong date, ‘1856’ instead of ‘1756’ (when it was actually published), on the inside front pages.

⁷ F.A. Kirkpatrick, ‘The literature of travel, 1700–1900’, in A.W. Ward and A.R. Waller (eds), *The Cambridge history of English literature* (Cambridge, for the university, 1907), xiv, 7–246 (246).

⁸ *Aleppo*², ii, 79.

⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, 336.

¹⁰ *Aleppo*, ii, 298–333, 344–5. Gelpi, ‘Aleppo ulcer’.

¹¹ *Aleppo*¹, vii.

<i>Aleppo</i> ¹				<i>Aleppo</i> ²			
<i>The natural history of Aleppo, and parts adjacent containing a description of the city and the natural productions in its neighbourhood together with an account of the climate, Inhabitants, and disease, particularly of the plague, with the methods used by the Europeans for their preservation (1756)</i>				<i>The natural history of Aleppo, containing a description of the city, and the principal natural productions in its neighbourhood together with an account of the climate, inhabitants, and diseases; particularly of the plague (1794)</i>			
Part	Chapter	Section	Topic	Vol.	Book	Chapter	Topic
I			A description of the city of Aleppo, and the parts adjacent (1–144)	i	1		Description of the city and the parts adjacent
				i	1	1	<i>Description of the city</i> Latitude — Situation — The River Kowick — Walls of the City — Gates — Hilly Districts — Streets — Mosques — Khanes — Bazars — Coffee-Houses — Seraglios, or Palaces — State Apartment — Divans — Kiosk — Harem — Dwelling Houses — Of the Agas — Of the Merchants — Of the Christians, and the Jews — Keisarias — The Castle of Aleppo, Sec. &c. (1–40)
				i	1	2	<i>Of the aqueduct, gardens, and environs of Aleppo</i> The Aqueduct — Private Reservoirs — Public Fountains — Wells — Aleppo Gardens, on the Banks of the River and Aqueduct — Description of the Gardens — Orchards, and Pistachio Plantations — Quarries — Stone, Lime and Clay — Fuller's Earth — Valley of Salt — Sunk Village — Mineral Springs, on the Scanderoon Road, and at Khillis — General Sketch of the Maritime Coast, and of the Face of the Country (41–62)
				i	1	3	<i>Of the seasons at Aleppo, the husbandry, and various productions of the gardens, and cultivated fields.</i> Description of the Seasons — Hot Winds — Rain — Snow and Ice — Lightning — Hail — Meteors — Aurora Borealis not observed at Aleppo —

<i>Aleppo</i> ¹				<i>Aleppo</i> ²			
							Earthquakes — Soil and Husbandry — Subterraneous Granaries — Water Mills — Articles of Cultivation, Cotton, Tobacco, Olives, Vines, &c, — Castor and Sesamum Oil — Pistachio Nuts — Mulberry — Pomegranate, Fig, &c. — Orange and Lemon Trees housed in the Winter — Esculent Roots, Legumes, and other Vegetables. (63–96)
				i	II		Of the inhabitants of the city (97–344)
				i	II	1	<i>Of the inhabitants in general.</i> Number of Inhabitants — Language — Stature and Complexion — Dress of the Men — Turban — Dress of the Women — Female Jewels, and Ornaments — Eastern Dress has undergone some Alteration, in Cities — Staining the Nails, Eyelids, Eyebrows, and Beard — Perfumes — Women always veiled, when they walk abroad — Diet of the Inhabitants — Preparations of Milk, named Kaimak, and Leban — Coffee — Tobacco — Persian Manner of Smoking — Use of Opium far from general — Intoxicating Herb used with Tobacco (97–112)
				i	II	2	<i>Of the inhabitants in general</i> The Bagnios, and mode of Bathing described — Depilatory — The Ziralet, or Exclamation of the Women, expressive of Joy — People lead a sedentary Life — Games — Dances — Regular Hours — Beds and Night-dress — Coffee-House Entertainments, Puppet Show, Story Tellers, &c. — Turkish Music — Various Instruments — Vocal Music — Festive Entertainments — Buffoons, &c. &c. (113–57)
				i	II	3	<i>On the Mohammedan inhabitants of Aleppo.</i> Distinction of the Mohammedan Inhabitants — Osmanli — Ullama — Agas, &c. — Merchants —

<i>Aleppo</i> ¹				<i>Aleppo</i> ²			
							Different Trades — Arabs — Turkmans, &c — Turkish Mode of Living — Ceremonial Visits — Dinner, &c. — Diet of the ordinary Ranks — Evening Conversation — Religion and Women, Topics seldom introduced there — Drunkenness not a common Vice (158–85)
				i	II	4	<i>Of the Mohammedan inhabitants of Aleppo.</i> Religious Ceremonies — Fasts — Byrams — Observances at the Feast after Ramadan — Ablutions and Prayers — Attendance at Mosque — Minarets — Pilgrimage — Circumcision — Alms — Monks — Dancing Dervises — Itinerant Sheihs — Idiots, and Madmen — Turks not zealous in making Converts-Toleration in Turkey — Mohammedans hold all other Religions in Contempt — Eunuchs — Exercises — The Gired — Character of the Turk — Slavery in Turkey — Hospitality — The Turks a domestic People — Resignation under Misfortune — Natives of Aleppo seldom travel (186–235)
				i	II	5	<i>Of the Turkish harem, at Aleppo</i> Entrance of the Harem — Superintendent, or Harem Kehiasy — Morning Visits, of the Ladies — Grandees attended by Females in the Harem — Their Amusements — Female Pedlers — Austere Behaviour of the Men, in presence of the Women — The Turks When indisposed, retire into the Harem — Reception of Physicians, and mode of their visit, described — Ordinary Employment and amusements of the Ladies — Diversions out of the Harem — Female Intrigues — Female Education — Persons and Dress of the Ladies — Female Slaves — Remarks on the Passion of Love in Turkey. (236–75)

<i>Aleppo</i> ¹				<i>Aleppo</i> ²			
				i	II	6	<i>Of the Turkish harem, at Aleppo</i> Polygamy — Divorce — Interior Economy of the Harem — Marriage Ceremonies — Comparative Estimate of Connubial Happiness in Turkey — Women seldom interfere in Politics — Respect paid them in Public — Poligamy as it respects Population — Child-bed Ceremonies — Funeral Ceremonies — The Wulwaly, or Dirge — Visitation of the Sepulchres (276–312)
				i	II	7	<i>Of the government of Aleppo</i> Extent of the Basliawlick — The Revenue of the Governors — The Bashaw perambulates the City, in disguise — The Cady, and Courts of Justice — The Mufti — The Nakeeb, or Chief of the Greenheads — The Divan of the City — Soldierly — Bashaw not absolutely despotic — Intrigues in the Divan — Insurrections occasioned by scarcity of Grain — Punishments — Decline of the Ancient Political Principles of the Ottoman Government — Prophecy of the Ruin of the Empire—The frequent Change of Bashaws productive of numerous Evils, in the Provinces — Mountainous Districts less subject to Oppression, and better cultivated — The depressed State of the Peasants — Hamlets deserted on Account of the Depredations of disbanded Cavalry (313–44)
				i			Notes and Illustrations (347 on) Appendix
				ii	III		Of the Europeans residing in the city; of the native Christian, and Jewish, inhabitants: and the present state of literature
				ii	III	1	<i>Of the Europeans residing at Aleppo</i> The Italian Language generally spoken — English, and French Factories — Convents — The Dutch —

<i>Aleppo</i> ¹				<i>Aleppo</i> ²			
							The Venetians, and Tuscans — Houses of the Europeans — Their Table — Female Society — Amusements, and Exercises of the English — Emeer, or King of the Arabs — Capitulations with the Porte — Public Audience of the Bashaw, the Cady, and the Mohaffil, describe — Public Entry of Consuls — The Europeans live undisturbed in the City, and travel with Security — They are seldom attacked by the usual Epidemic Distempers (1–27)
				ii	III	2	<i>Of the native Christians, at Aleppo</i> Number of Christian Inhabitants — Churches — Greeks — Greek Nation greatly declined — Greek Language obsolete — Armenians rigidly strict in their Lents — Feasts — Syrians — Maronites — Lents of the Greeks, Syrians, and Maronites — Monasteries — Nuns — Habit of the Priests — Bishops — Latin Missionaries — Wakeels, or public Agents for the Christian Nations — Oppression of the Christians — Manner of Living — Christian Women — Character of the Men — Druggomans, or Interpreters — Maronite Wedding described — Management of Children — Funeral Ceremonies, &c. (28–57)
				ii	III	3	<i>Of the native Jews at Aleppo.</i> Computed Number of Jews — Synagogue — Ancient Manuscript of the Bible — Dress of the Jews — The Hebrew Characters employed in writing Arabic — Jews seldom apply to manual Trades — Are chiefly Bankers, Merchants, &c. — Sober in their Diet — Lower Class slovenly and dirty — Women — The High Priest or Khakhan — Sabbath — Feasts — Fasts — Remarkable Fast of Six Days — Voluntary Fasts — Influence of the Jews in Turkey — Jewish Marriages — Intrigues

<i>Aleppo</i> ¹				<i>Aleppo</i> ²			
							— Belief in the Operation of evil Spirits, and Exorcism — Jews remarkably attentive to their Sick — Funeral Ceremonies, &c. (58–87)
				ii	III	4	<i>Of present state of literature, at Aleppo</i> Introduction of Literature among the Arabs — Neglected by the Turks — Said to have revived in some degree, in the present Century — Schools — Colleges — Libraries — Manuscripts collected by some Merchants — Philology — Theology — Jurisprudence — Astronomy — Judiciary Astrology — Magic, &c. — Mathematics — Natural History — History and Geography — Poetry (88–113)
				ii	III	5	<i>On the state of Physic, at Aleppo</i> Introduction of the Greek Physic among the Arabs — Medical Practitioners — Arabian Writers on Medicine — Modern Practice of Physic — Chronic Diseases — Empirics — Surgery — Operation of couching the Cataract — Lithotomy — Bleeding, Cupping, Scarification — Reduction of Fractures and Dislocations (114–44)
				ii	IV		Of quadrupeds, birds, fishes, and insects: and of the plants growing in the environs of the city
				ii	IV	1	<i>Of quadrupeds</i> The Ox — Buffalo — Sheep — Goat — Wild Boar — Gazelle — Hare — Rabbit — Porcupine — Hedge-Hog — Jerbua — Camel — Ass — Horse — Dog — Cat — Rat — Mouse — Field Mice — Hamster — Mole — Bat — Polecat — Jackal — Fox — Wolf — Sheeb — Hyæna — Lynx — Black-eared Cat — Panther — Lion — Bear, &c. (145–91)
				ii	IV	2	<i>On birds</i> Poultry — Game — al Kata, described — Varieties

<i>Aleppo</i> ¹				<i>Aleppo</i> ²			
							of Hawks — al Sulwa, or Little Bittern, described — carrier pigeon formerly employed at Aleppo — Missel Bird — Fieldfare — Ring-Ouzel — Smurmur, or Locust Bird, described. &c. (192–206)
				ii	IV	4	<i>Of fishes</i> Fishes from the River Kowick — The Aleppo Eel, so called — Two of the Genus <i>Silurus</i> described — The Loche — Barbel — Binny of Forscal — Various Cyprini, &c. — Fishes from the Orontes and Euphrates, and the Lake of Antioch common Eel — Sheat Fish — <i>Silurus Anguillaris</i> , &c. — Sea Fish from Scanderoon, Cod — Red Mullet — Sturgeon, &c. (207–19)
				ii	IV	5	<i>Of reptiles and insects, &c.</i> Frog — River Crab — Tortoise — Silk Worm — Bee — Scorpion — Scolopendra — Serpents — Mosquito — Locust — Chameleon, &c. (220–36)
				ii	IV	6	<i>Of plants</i> Of the Plants in the Environs of Aleppo: and of some collected in the Mountains, on the Road to Scanderoon and Latachia (237–72)
II			Observations on the Epidemical Diseases in the City of Aleppo	ii	V		Of the weather, and epidemic diseases
				ii	V	1	Instruments described — Abstract Account of the Weather in the respective Months of the Year — Comparative Tables — Observations, &c. (273–87)
II	I		Observations on the weather in general (145–57)	ii	V	2	<i>Of the weather, from the year 1741 to the year 1751</i> (288–97)
II	II		Of the weather from the Year 1742 to 1747, and of the Years 1752 and 1753 (158–89).	ii	V		
				ii	V	3	<i>Of Epidemic Diseases, at Aleppo, in general</i> (298–306)

<i>Aleppo</i> ¹				<i>Aleppo</i> ²			
				ii	V	4	<i>Of the Ephemera, termed the Oca; and of the Mal d'Aleppo</i> (307–14)
II	III		Of the Epidemical Diseases , from the beginning of 1742 to the end of 1747, and of the Years 1752 and 1753 (190–223).	ii	V	5	<i>Of the Epidemics, at Aleppo, from the Year 1741, to the Year 1754</i> (315–34)
	IV		On the plague	ii	VI		Of the plague (335–88)
	IV	1	On the plague in general (223–8)	ii	VI	1	<i>Of the Plague at Aleppo in general</i> (335–9)
	IV	2	Of the Plague, as it appeared in Aleppo, inc 1742, 1743, and 1744 (288–50)	ii	VI	2	<i>Of the Progress of the Plague in 1742, 1743, and 1744</i> (340–8)
				ii	VI	3	<i>A Medical Description of the Plague, as it appeared at Aleppo in 1742, 1743, and 1744</i> (349–56)
	IV	4	On <i>Mal d'Aleppo</i> (262–6)	ii	VI	4	<i>Of the Pestilential Eruptions</i> (357–61)
				ii	VI	5	<i>Of the treatment of the plague</i> (362–72)
	IV	3	Of the method used by the Europeans for their preservation from the Plague (250–62),	ii	VI	6	<i>Of the method of shutting up, practised by the Europeans in Syria, for their preservation in times of Pestilence</i> (373–88).
				ii			Notes and Illustrations.
			Index	ii			Appendix
							Index

FIGURE 3. A comparison of the structure and contents of *Aleppo*¹ and *Aleppo*²

4.1.2 *Aleppo*²

Alexander planned to publish a new edition and collected a considerable quantity of new and valuable material for it. He was also in communication with Linnaeus.¹ As soon as *Aleppo*¹ was published, Alexander sent a copy of *Aleppo*¹ to Patrick in Aleppo, asking him to critically peruse it, so ‘that inaccuracies of every kind should be noted and inquiry made into all such matters as seemed dubious that corrections or additions should be suggested with unreserved freedom and that by attention to objects of natural history every assistance should be given to render that part of his work less defective.’²

After Alexander’s death in 1768, Patrick worked on the second edition. It was the influential historian, William Robertson, in Edinburgh, who urged Patrick to publish his edition of *Aleppo* as a separate book under his own name. His colleagues even urged him to publish it as a new work:

The prosecution of his brother’s plan forcibly struck Dr Patrick Russell in the light of a debt due to friendship; and on this delicate principle he declined to follow the advice of Dr Robertson and some other eminent friends, who wished him to make a separate publication of his own observations in Syria.³

Patrick also used manuscripts left by his brother in his will and several of his own letters from Syria in answer to queries that had been sent him at different times from Alexander in England.⁴ Patrick claimed that ‘the Author’s sense had been carefully preserved’⁵ and that he had merely restructured the original text more rigorously in *Aleppo*² by dividing the original text into subchapters and providing a few explanatory notes. For Patrick, ‘his only power is to mix writings, to counter the ones with the others, in such a way as never to rest on any one of them.’⁶ Patrick had already been in regular correspondence from Aleppo with Alexander in London⁷ and had a ‘powerful motive of gratifying a brother, to whom he was bound by ties of esteem and gratitude as well as of affection. For many years, therefore did he

¹ Chapter 6, below.

² *Aleppo*², i, iv–v.

³ Cunningham, *Lives*, viii, 120.

⁴ *English Review* (1794), 82.

⁵ *Aleppo*², i, xv.

⁶ Barthes, ‘Death of the author’, 146.

⁷ No letters, letter-books or journals written by the Russells have yet been discovered.

continue regularly to correspond with his brother in scientific subjects.’⁸ Preparation of the second edition was not without stress for Patrick as he wrote: ‘The death of the Author, in 1768, caused a temporary interruption of studies, which his Brother found himself unable to resume, without suffering, by association, many painful recollections, which for a long while, too sensibly perhaps, affected his mind.’⁹

The second edition was ‘revised, enlarged, and illustrated with notes’ and with a slightly different title from that of *Aleppo*¹. In *Aleppo*² Patrick, constantly loyal to his brother’s vision of a second edition, substantially rewrote the text, added his own material and incorporated some of his brother’s previously unpublished work. The plan and content of the second edition followed the first to a large extent but the text was supported with many more references, descriptive fragments, case studies, notes and observations thoroughly based on personal experiences. Patrick addressed many of the organizational issues presented in the first edition, and this was reflected in the structure of the second edition. He thoroughly deconstructed the original text, especially the earlier chapters of *Aleppo*¹, provided headers and separated material into independent chapters as shown in Figure 3. Such embellishment leads to speculations as to whether the second edition, with its altered title, was, in fact, a new book, authored by Patrick rather than a heavily edited version of the first edition.¹⁰ The book was not only ‘new modelled’, ‘but many emendations were made, and very large additions were introduced by him, under the modest title of “editor”.’¹¹ It was essentially a different, if related, work of scholarship; one that addressed an educated and informed audience. As Patrick concluded in his Preface, ‘how far the Author’s abilities have been equal to the task he has undertaken, the Public will judge; and he intreats their candour’¹² and disclaimed any intentional misrepresentation. However, he was aware that he could not be completely impartial, stressing the ‘extreme difficulty of divesting one’s self of prejudices contracted in familiar intercourse with the natives in a long series of years and convinced that opinions formed of men and manners from private experience must inevitably in the representation to others take

⁸ Cunningham, *Lives*, viii, 118–20.

⁹ *Aleppo*², i, v.

¹⁰ Smith, *Life of Sir Joseph Banks*, 116.

¹¹ Cunningham, *Lives*, viii, 120.

¹² *Aleppo*², i, xix.

some tincture from the observer's condition of life as well as from his constitutional temper.'¹³

4.2 Literary devices and apparatuses

A range of different literary devices¹⁴ and apparatuses can be identified in the editing or rewriting of an original text and an exploration of these can shed light on the construction of and influences on the development of the two editions. Whilst these might include literary devices such as third-person narrative, aphorisms, and 'cut-up techniques' involving the rearrangement of texts to create a new text, and even 'Dionysian imitatio' (the literary method of copying and improving other writers), they also include apparatus such as footnotes, illustrations, notes, marginalia and so on, all of which help a reader to understand the basic text. The range of such apparatus reflects the way the two editions were variously embedded in contemporary print culture.

4.2.1 Arabic typefaces

Difficulties in producing Arabic typefaces in the eighteenth century are reflected in the two editions. Although initial attempts at setting Arabic script were made in the seventeenth century,¹⁵ there were few experts in London by the 1750s. It was not until the 1790s that expertise in setting Arabic typefaces was available in London, primarily following interest in Persian which was used for administrative purposes in India by the EIC.¹⁶ Whilst Alexander had problems finding a printer with Arabic typefaces in 1756, George G. and J. Robinson, the 'king of booksellers'¹⁷ of Paternoster Row, London, usefully typeset Arabic words in *Aleppo*², though Patrick

¹³ Review of *Aleppo*², *The English Review* 24 (1794), 81–86 (84); (September 1794), 185–95.

¹⁴ Literary devices: elements or combinations of elements intentionally used by writers to structure their work. Literary techniques are used by authors to create meaning and enable readers, in general, to understand and appreciate a text.

¹⁵ James and Thomas Glover established a type foundry in 1674. The type-founder William Caslon cut characters for SPCK in the 1720s. Later Joseph Jackson (1733–1792), Caslon's apprentice, designed a font for John Richardson's *Grammar* (1776) and his *Dictionary, Persian, Arabic and English* set by Oxford University Press in 1777. Other types were produced by the Dutch. From the 1780s the EIC sponsored publishers including William Richardson, OUP, John Nichols and Samuel Rousseau, who produced books in Arabic and Persian (Roper, 'Arabic printing', 34–38).

¹⁶ Nile Green, 'The development of Arabic-script typography in Georgian Britain', *Printing History* 5 (2009), 15–30.

¹⁷ <http://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2007/01/london-1775-1800-r.html> (3 December 2011).

declared: ‘typographical errors in the Arabic words, which the Editor is afraid, notwithstanding the pains taken to prevent them, will too frequently occur.’¹⁸ Patrick had to correct several incorrectly typeset Arabic words by providing an Errata page.¹⁹

4.2.2 Footnotes

Footnotes were replacing marginal notes that had been a feature of earlier travelogues. Alexander provided a range of footnotes, especially on Arabic terms, botanical names, and ingredients of medical inscriptions. In *Aleppo*², Patrick added long and informative endnotes, notes and footnotes, on many different subjects, some of them in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish,²⁰ to improve Alexander’s original text. The Notes were not necessarily welcomed: as *The Monthly Review* declared:

The notes and illustrations are almost entirely quotations from authors with some occasional criticisms. As they are not confined to what concerns Aleppo and its vicinity but frequently refer to the Turkish empire in general their extension seems to have been in a great measure arbitrary and perhaps many readers would rather have wished to have possessed the information arising from the author’s and editor’s own observations given apart than to have it presented in two large and very costly volumes of miscellaneous matter.²¹

A discerning reader might be able to identify the earlier text in the subsequent version but for the general modern reader such transformation can be hard to grasp.

4.2.3 Indexes

Indexes, which were something of a curiosity at a time when spelling was far from standardized, were usually prepared by the author rather than the publisher. The detailed index in *Aleppo*¹ was thorough and provided references to the range of topics included in the volume in order to attract readers. These were an elaborate and effective way to cross-reference, summary and explain the text, especially if running heads were not given, as in the first part of *Aleppo*¹. The relationships between the two indexes are demonstrated in a snippet that is, index terms beginning with ‘B’ from both editions (Figure 4).

¹⁸ *Aleppo*², i, xiv–xv.

¹⁹ For examples, see Chapter 6.

²⁰ Patrick owned G. Seaman, *Grammatica linguae Turciae* (Oxford: Henry Hall, 1670), plus many lexicons dating from 1619 (Squibb, *Catalogue*, 3:6). They are almost identical to those bequeathed to the Bodleian (*Catalogue of the printed books and manuscripts bequeathed by Francis Douce* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1840), 7, so these lexicons probably previously belonged to Patrick.

²¹ *Monthly Review* (1795), 257–8.

<i>Index items for 'B' in Aleppo¹</i>	<i>Index items for 'B' in Aleppo²</i>
	Baba Bazarlu, a remarkable fanatic, i, 414
	Babooge, a kind of slippers, i, 102, 115, 365; a kind of fish described, ii, 211
	Babullah, gardens of, i, 45
Bagnios of Aleppo described, 84, 85; how used by the men, 85, 86; and by the women, 87, 88; entertainments of, 87	Bagnios of Aleppo described, i, 131
	Banishment, how inflicted at Aleppo, i, 334
	Bankusa (suburb of) i, 8, 11
Baraban, a large falcon used for hawing at Aleppo, 67	
	Baratier, remarks on his Dissertation on Rabbi Benjamin's Travels, i, 354
	Bashaw of Aleppo, i, 313; revenue of, i, 315, 445; sometimes walks the streets in disguise, i, 316; not absolute, i, 325
	Bashaws (the) the frequent change of them in Turkey productive of numerous evils in the provinces, i, 338. 340; manner in which they acquire power and wealth, i, 340
	Bashawlick of Aleppo, extent of, i, 314
	Bastinado, (the) how inflicted at Aleppo, i, 334
	Bathing, mode of at Aleppo, i, 134
	Bats, varieties of at Aleppo, ii, 182
	Bayadeen, gardens of, i, 45
Bazar, see market	Bazars, (the) or markets of Aleppo, described, i, 20.
Beards, the method of dying them used by the Turks, 102	Beard, much pains bestowed in dressing it by the Turks, i, 112, 369; compositions for tinging it how prepared, i, [sic]
	Becktashys, or itinerant Turkish mendicants, i, 413
	Beds, Turkish, described, i, 144.
Bees, cultivated about Aleppo, 62	
Beef, not much used by the Turks or Jews at Aleppo, 60; why best there in the summer, <i>ibid.</i>	Beef, quality of at Aleppo, 11. 146
	Begdelies, a tribe of Turkmen, i, 390
	Beggars, account of the Turkish, i, 204; anecdote of a Mufti who gave alms to one, i, 205
	Beheading, performed in a bungling manner at Aleppo, i, 333
	Bells, the use of them proscribed in Turkey, i, 197
	Belon, errors of respecting the Harem, i, 435
	Benjamin (Rabbi) remarks on the travels of, i, 353
	Berræa of the Greeks, now Aleppo, i, 348
	Binge, what, i, 125

<i>Index items for 'B' in Aleppo¹</i>	<i>Index items for 'B' in Aleppo²</i>
Birds, about Aleppo at different seasons, 64–72. The locust bird described, 70	
	Birs, a preparation of opium, 127
	Bishop (Greek) of Aleppo, treated with disrespect by his nation, ii, 30
	Bishops (Christian) at Aleppo, state assumed by and power of, ii, 38
Bittern, a remarkable sort of, described, 71, 72	Bittern (the little) described, ii, 200
	Black Mountains, i, 3.
Black-fish, very plentiful at Aleppo, 73, A description of, <i>ibid.</i> , 74	Black fish (the) described, ii, 217
Bleeding, scarce ever performed on children at Aleppo, 201. What used in place of it, <i>ibid.</i> Its use in the plague, 242, 245	Bleeding, how performed by the Turkish surgeons, ii, 140
Blistering, the people of Aleppo very adverse to, 201, 248. Its use in the plague, 248.	
	Bread of Aleppo, i, 116
	Bruce (Mr.) his estimate of the proportion of females born in the East, i, 440; takes water from the stomachs of two camels, ii, 427; his veracity not questioned by the Editor, <i>ibid</i>
Buboes, pestilential, their first appearance, progress, and cure, 231, 234, 237, 238, 248, 249	
Buffaloes, plenty of in Syria, 51: but few near Aleppo, <i>ibid.</i>	Buffaloes of Syria, ii, 146, 417
Buffoons, used in all merry-makings by the Turks, 23	Buffoons commonly attend at all great entertainments, i, 156
Buildings, at Aleppo described, 2, 3, 4, 5. Materials for, some account 48, 49 Are carried on with great ease and dexterity, 49	
Burgle, a food at Aleppo, described, 123	Burgle, how prepared, ii, 17
	Burials of the Turks, i, 306; of the native Christians, ii. 56.
	Burial grounds of Aleppo, i, 40
Butter, how supplied at Aleppo, 53. Commonly bad, <i>ibid.</i>	Butter of Aleppo, i, 119
	Byloon, a kind of fuller's earth, i, 54
	Byram, account of the feasts of, i, 189, 394

FIGURE 4. A comparison of a selection of index items in *Aleppo¹* and *Aleppo²*

By the end of the eighteenth century, the trend to provide indexes had reached a peak with suitably analytical indexes. Patrick's indexes also reflect his exquisite attention to detail: there are personal names, tribes and locations, Arabic terms and political

offices which are not included in *Aleppo*¹. The reviewer of *Aleppo*² in *The British Critic* summed up the importance of its indexes:

To the whole a copious index is added in which great care appears to have been exerted. The value of an index is not easily to be appreciated. It is alike useful to the learned and the unlearned; to the latter when desultory reading, or want of skill, will not easily enable them to separate what they require from the mass; and to the former, when after a first perusal. wanting the aid of such a publication as the present as a work of reference, they cannot easily allow the necessary time to search through two quarto volumes, for what a good index wilt with little trouble, in a moment place before them splendid work.²²

4.2.4 Illustrations

For authors during the Enlightenment it was important that the authority of scientific texts was made accessible through clear style and pleasant images. The concept of ‘visuality’ was also an important element of eighteenth-century travel writing, establishing through faithful imitation. The identity of subjects within their local environment was visualized to support the authenticity and accuracy of written accounts. Images that link the two editions took the form of magnificent illustrative plates in *Aleppo*¹, and were executed by famous illustrators of the time.²³ Thus the two editions appeared so attractive to the general reader when they were published.

Georg Dionysus Ehret FRS (1708–1770)²⁴ produced eight engraved plates of botanical specimens for *Aleppo*¹ which were reused in the second edition. At the time Ehret was producing the images for *Aleppo*, he was also working on his own publication.²⁵ Other illustrations in *Aleppo* were by a renowned copper engraver James Mynde (fl.1720–1770),²⁶ who worked with Ehret on several commissions, and by John Miller [Johann Mueller] (1715–1792), Linnaeus’s botanical artist/engraver.²⁷

²² *British Critic* 5 (1795), 17.

²³ *Aleppo observed* replicates most of the images that appeared in the 1794 edition of *Aleppo*.

²⁴ Sarah Searight, *The British in the Middle East* (London: East-West Publications, 1979), 231; B.C. Corner and C.C. Booth (ed.), *Chain of friendship* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971), 290.

²⁵ Georg Dionysius Ehret, *Plantae et papiliones rariores* ([London]: [s.n.], 1748–[1759]), 15 plates.

²⁶ Mynde provided illustrations for the Royal Society. He engraved and etched many maps, anatomical plates, portraits and scenes (such as ‘The Royal College of Physicians, Warwick Lane, London’).

²⁷ Johann Müller arrived in London from Nuremberg in 1744. On the recommendation of naturalist, John Ellis, Müller (Miller) illustrated *Illustratio Systematis Sexualis Linnaei*, 2 vols (London: [John Miller], [1770]–1777),

Linnaeus thought Müller's illustrations were 'more beautiful and more accurate than any that had been seen since the world began.'²⁸

Son of a market gardener from Heidelberg, Ehret came to England about 1740, and had become the dominant influence in botanical art in this period. Linnaeus had encouraged him to provide minute details of different parts of plants, a technique Ehret retained in his later drawings. His illustrations are based on 'keen observation, a steady hand, and perseverance to cultivate his skill as a draftsman.'²⁹ Ehret became one of the great eighteenth-century botanical illustrators. He drew for the Nuremberg physician Christoph Trew, author of *Hortus Nitidissimus*,³⁰ and for Patrick Browne's *Civil and natural history of Jamaica*.³¹ Amongst others, Ehret also worked for the London physician Richard Mead; the famous French botanist and physician Bertrand de Jussieu (1699–1777); Sir Hans Sloane PRS (1660–1753), whose natural history collections were a founding collection of the British Museum; and Banks, for whom Ehret produced four volumes of drawings, now in the Natural History Museum, Kensington.³²

Patrick not only used the wonderful, intricate and detailed illustrations from the first edition to satisfy book collectors and his many readers but also included a sketch plan of the old city of Aleppo (26 x 32 cm) in the second edition,³³ provided by his friend, traveller and surveyor Niebuhr (Figure 5): 'in this plan, which I received from my esteemed friend Mr Nieburh [sic], with permission to make whatever use of it I thought fit.'³⁴

²⁸ Blunt and Stearn, *Botanical illustration*, 166.

²⁹ Gerta Calmann, *Ehret, flower painter extraordinary* (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1977); Gill Sanders, *Picturing plants* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995), 13.

³⁰ Christoph Jacob Trew, *Flower drawings from Hortus nitidissimis* (London: Rose Selavy, 1990).

³¹ Patrick Browne, *The civil and natural history of Jamaica* (London: B. White, 1789).

³² Wilfrid Blunt and William Thomas Stearn, *The art of botanical illustration* (London: Antique Collectors' Club, 1994), 159–74.

³³ *Aleppo*², i, opposite 13.

³⁴ *Alheppo*², i, vii, 12.

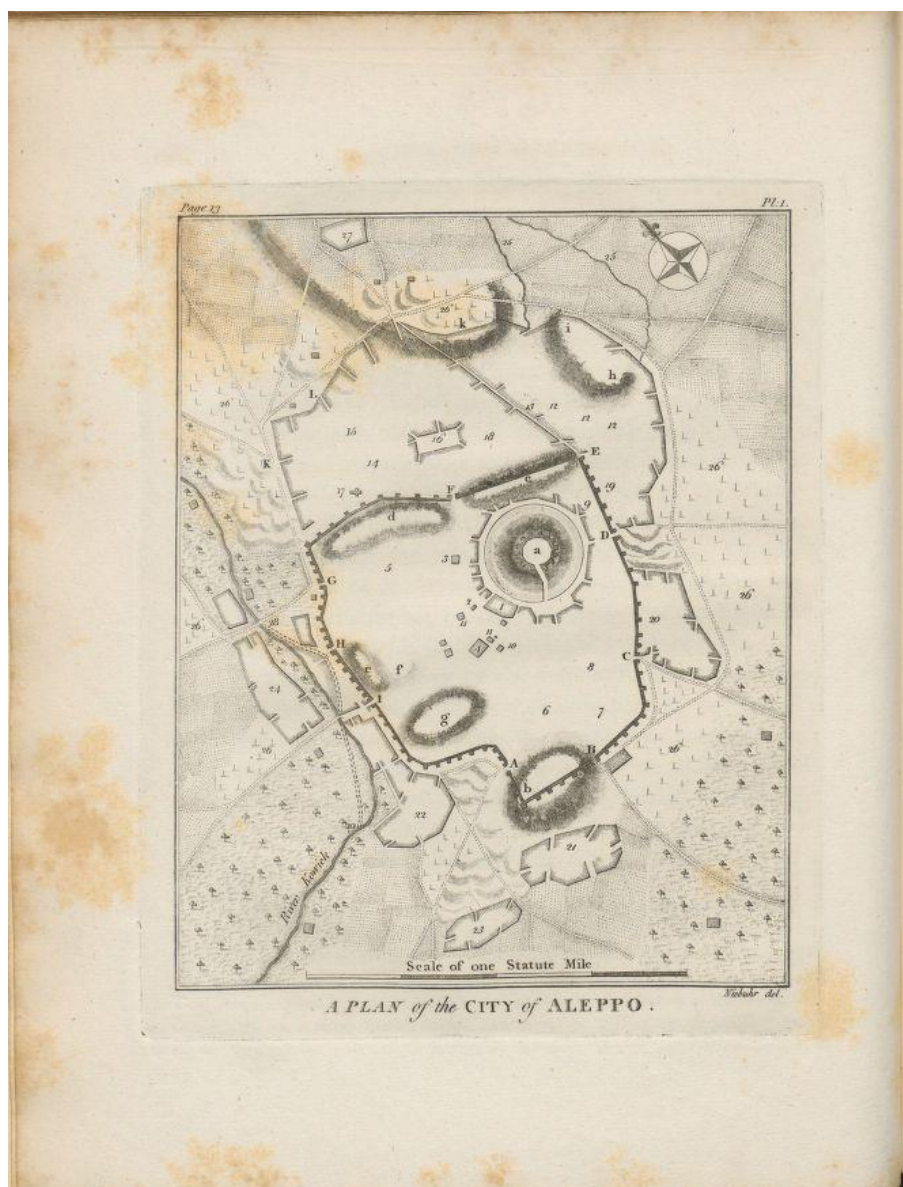


FIGURE 5. Niebuhr's plan of the city of Aleppo (*Aleppo*², i, opposite p.13)

4.2.5 Related texts

In addition to *Aleppo*, the Russells wrote several other articles (see bibliography), some of which can be thought of as 'supplementary texts'. Alexander wrote several articles on medical and natural history which can be taken to be either extended elements of the original *Aleppo* text or material that he could use for his planned new edition. For example, there was one article on smallpox that the brothers co-authored and Patrick published his *Treatise* in 1791, three years before the second edition of *Aleppo*. The *Treatise* is a handsomely printed large-margined book, issued as a

Government publication by G.G.J. and J. Robinson, one of the major publishers in London, who also published *Aleppo*². As an eye-witness, Patrick described, month by month, the course of the plague at Aleppo in the years 1760 to 1762.³⁵ The *Treatise* has an extensive appendix which contains very thorough daily details of 120 case histories which he observed, and in many instances his patients survived.

In an article published in 1799, Patrick supplemented information provided in *Aleppo*², on the *Arabian Nights*.³⁶ This article was virtually another appendix or supplementary note to that edition. In addition, Patrick published a series of high quality studies between 1795 and his death in 1805 on the natural history discoveries he made in India before *Aleppo*² was published. There is no space to discuss these in relation to *Aleppo*² or for their own merits in this thesis apart from noting that the same painstaking methodology, rigorous observation and attention to detail is found in all his works.

4.3 Influential literary models

In this section models of publications that may well have influenced the style, structure and format of *Aleppo*, will be outlined. Such investigation reflects on continuity in styles, on the range of themes and topics covered. Whilst there may be discontinuity between the two editions in relation to design and style, there was much continuity in the characterization of the ways of life in *Aleppo*. In both editions, despite the apparent exotic environment of cosmopolitan Aleppo, the authors aimed for accuracy, giving great attention to transparency and detail, in line with philosophical approaches of the Scottish Enlightenment. For visiting sightseers, there are no detailed descriptions of the ruins and buildings of Aleppo in either edition. When writing their ethnographic commentaries, an air almost of indifference, provoked by using third- rather than first-person commentary, provided a device to separate the Russells from the opinions of local people. Particularly in *Aleppo*², there was a hybridity of multiple sources, translations and unique

³⁵ Giovanni, l'Abbé de Mariti, *Travels through Cyprus, Syria, and Palestine* (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1791), 194–206. He described the dreadful plague of 1760.

³⁶ P[atrick R[ussell], to Mr Urban, 22 February 1799, 'On the authenticity of the Arabian Nights Tales', *The Gentleman's Magazine* 69 (19 February 1799), 91–92.

information obtained by rational observation: the verifiable was supported by the verified.

4.3.1 Models for Alexander

This section will outline the various influences on and models for Alexander's *Aleppo*¹, beginning with the impact of the Royal Society. The chemist, Robert Boyle (1627–1691), may well have established the ideas of experiment and the importance of observing nature that dominated the Royal Society from the 1660s. Boyle sought manuscripts in Arabic to support his scientific findings.³⁷ He drew up a set of 'proper questions' for those travelling in exotic locations in his 'General Heads for a Natural History of a Country, Great or small' published in the *Philosophical Transactions* in 1666.³⁸ Boyle's checklist included: 'What diseases the Country is most subject to? What are the Variations of the Weather, according to the Seasons of the year, and the times of the day?' and again, 'what Grains, fruits and other vegetables doe the most naturally agree with it? ... By what particular Arts and Industries the Inhabitants improve the advantages, and remedy the Inconveniences of their Soyle?'³⁹ Immediate examination of *Aleppo*¹ reveals the influences of Boyle's *General heads* on its contents. Later, Patrick suggested that the small Levant Company library at Aleppo be developed 'to which might be added, heads of inquiry adapted to the respective stations, under the form of Queries.'⁴⁰

Subsequent recommendations were drawn up by the Royal Society for individual regions, including 'Inquiries for Turkey' which was drawn up by Sir Paul Rycaut, FRS (1629–1700), British Consul at Smyrna from 1667 to 1678.⁴¹ Rycaut recommended an eclectic set of questions, including 'What is the greatest dose, any man are known to have taken of opium?' and 'what effects are observed from their use, not only of opium ... but also of coffee, bathing, shaving their heads, using rice;

³⁷ Charles G.D. Littleton, 'Ancient languages and new science', in Alistair Hamilton et al., *Republic of Letters and the Levant*, 151–72.

³⁸ Robert Boyle, 'General Heads for a Natural History of a country, great or small', *Philosophical g* 1 (1665–1666), 186–9. The Royal Society sponsored other useful instructions, such as John Woodward, *Brief instructions for making observations in all parts of the world* (London: Richard Wilkin, 1696).

³⁹ Quoted in Michael Hunter, 'Robert Boyle and the early Royal Society', *British Journal for the History of Science* 40/1 (2007) 1–23.

⁴⁰ *Aleppo*², i, x; ii, 94–95, 107. The library contained 228 volumes in 1688 (Wood, *History of the Levant Company*, 242).

⁴¹ Sonia P Anderson, 'Rycaut, Sir Paul (1629–1700)', *ODNB*.

and why they prefer that which grows not unless watered, before wheat, etc.’⁴² Curiously, although these ‘Inquiries’ were not acknowledged, these questions on opium, for example, were addressed by both Russells, Patrick even confirming that the largest amount of pure opium consumed in twenty-four hours that he discovered in Aleppo was three drams.⁴³

There were other studies undertaken by some of Alexander’s colleagues that influenced Alexander’s approach to his own study. *Aleppo*¹ was published very shortly after Alexander returned to England in 1755. Alexander’s style and format were certainly not influenced by chronological personal travel journals. Instead, Alexander attempted to produce a thematic account, somewhat along the lines of *The history of the island of Minorca*, published in 1752 by John Armstrong (fl.1733–1758). Armstrong, an engineer officer in Minorca from 1738, organized the chapters thematically, on history, natural history and so on, in the form of a series of letters. His aims are similar to those in *Aleppo*:

in London you [probably Fothergill?] advised me from my very first Arrival here, carefully to examine all the Remains of Antiquity, and the natural Curiosities that Were to be found; to describe the Towns and Harbours; to search into the History, Antiquity, and present State of the Country; to take Notice of the Tempers and Customs of the People, and observe their Methods in Agriculture, Trade, and Manufactures; and lastly to give you an Idea of the Natural History of the Island, with whatever was observable in the Fossil, Vegetable, and Animal Kingdoms. All this I have performed to the best of my Judgment, and Collections for these two Years past compose a Pile of Papers sufficient to terrify when I think of revising and putting them in Order.⁴⁴

Armstrong acknowledged a useful publication by Cleghorn, his ‘learned friend’⁴⁵ and an advocate of Boerhaave’s ‘new’ medicine, who described the effects of weather on diseases in Minorca.⁴⁶ Another of Alexander’s student friends in Edinburgh, Cleghorn was appointed an army surgeon to the 22nd Regiment of Foot in Minorca in 1736, on the recommendation of Professor Sinclair in Edinburgh.

⁴² [Rycaut], ‘Inquiries for Turkey’, *Philosophical Transactions* 1 (1665–1666), 360–2; Thomas Henshaw, ‘Inquires for Ægypt’, *Philosophical Transactions* 2 (1667), 470–2.

⁴³ *Aleppo*¹, 83–84; *Aleppo*², i, 128. 1 dram = 1.772 grams (Avoirdupois). Normally a lethal dose is c.2 grams of opium (Anil Aggrawal, *Narcotic Drugs* (New Delhi: National Book Trust, 1995). Chapter 6, below, on opium.

⁴⁴ Armstrong, *History of the island of Minorca*, 2.

⁴⁵ Armstrong, *History of the island of Minorca*, xvi.

⁴⁶ Cleghorn, *Epidemical diseases*.

Although four editions were published,⁴⁷ no contemporary reviews of *Epidemical diseases* have yet been traced, apart from comments by Ridpath, a family friend. Ridpath thought that Cleghorn's work was very good, 'discovering good judgement, considerable erudition, and a laudable candour in confessing his own mistakes',⁴⁸ and conjectured that 'Cleghorn's account of Minorca is the original [Alexander] seems to have in his eye, but he falls a good deal short of it.'⁴⁹ Yet unlike *Aleppo*, Cleghorn's account is rarely studied nowadays.

Cleghorn's book, *Epidemical diseases*, was published at the instigation of Fothergill, who helped Cleghorn collate his notes for publication on his return to London in 1750. Cleghorn sent parts of his text to his intimate friend Fothergill in letters between 1742 and 1744, written in elegant Latin. Fothergill then sent them to Cuming who corresponded with Cleghorn and Alexander.⁵⁰ Likewise, Fothergill was in regular correspondence with Alexander. Fothergill in London kept Cleghorn in Minorca supplied with books and letters filled with information about the latest scientific trends; in return, Cleghorn regularly sent botanical specimens back to Fothergill.⁵¹ *Epidemical diseases* also provided an important model as Lettsom, Fothergill's biographer, described in Cleghorn's obituary:

a just model for the imitation of future medical writers; it not only exhibits an accurate state of the air, but a minute detail of the vegetable productions of the island, and concludes with medical observations important in every point of view, and in some instances, either new, or applied in a manner which preceding practitioners had not admitted. It is a modern practice, for which we are indebted to Dr Cleghorn, to recommend acescent⁵² vegetables in low, remittent and putrid fevers, and the early and copious exhibition of bark, which had been interdicted from mistaken facts deduced from false theories.⁵³

⁴⁷ By D. Wilson who was also publishing works by Smollett and William Smellie. The third edition was printed for T. Cadell, successor to Mr Millar, D. Wilson and G. Nicol. As *Aleppo*¹ was published by A. Millar, its layout is very similar.

⁴⁸ Ridpath, *Diary*, 67.

⁴⁹ Ridpath, *Diary*, 94.

⁵⁰ Fothergill, *Works* iii, xcvi–xcix.

⁵¹ B.C. Corner and C.C. Booth (eds), *Chain of friendship* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1971).

⁵² sour.

⁵³ Quoted in Lettsom's memorial note for Cleghorn in *Memoirs of John Fothergill* (London: C. Dilly, 1786), 477–85 (481).

Even more critically, Fothergill sponsored both Cleghorn's *Epidemical diseases* and Alexander's *Aleppo*, possibly providing appropriate funds.⁵⁴

Cleghorn provided an authoritative account based on his many years of medical practice in the Balearic Islands,⁵⁵ with chapters on the weather, natural history, a wealth of information on anatomy, diseases and epidemics and possible treatments, including variolation: a wide range of topics that Alexander also covered in *Aleppo*¹. He provided minute accurate detail on plants, and concluded with important medical observations, either new, or applied in a different way. Amongst other discoveries, Cleghorn noted that quinine bark acted as a cure for malaria.

Alexander's style, particularly on the nomenclature of plants, was almost identical to Cleghorn's, though Alexander provided much more information about the origins of his Latin names. Cleghorn researched Spanish books and quotes more classical poetry than Alexander but *Aleppo*¹ certainly had many similarities in terms of structure, contents and presentation with Cleghorn's *Epidemical diseases*. Both contained a quantity of careful clinical observation. Yet Alexander's book went further: providing much on the manners and customs of people that were far less familiar to the British reader than inhabitants of the Balearics. Fothergill was in regular correspondence to Alexander over the years before he returned to London in February 1755, and had consistently urged 'the amiable Russell ... [of] the importance of an historical narrative of that city and its environs and which the latter executed with a perspicuity that will hand down the work and the reputation of its author to distant posterity.'⁵⁶ As Fothergill described:

I could not forbear mentioning to him repeatedly, how acceptable a more accurate account of Aleppo would be to this nation, and to all Europe; that no person would probably ever stand a chance of succeeding in it so happily as himself; that his long residence there, his knowledge of the language, the manners, customs, diseases of the place, the great credit he had acquired amongst all ranks, by an able, diligent, and disinterested exertion of his faculties, his influence over the Pascha, and the respect paid him by the Turks themselves, would facilitate every enquiry. He viewed the proposal in the same light, collected materials, made suitable enquiries, and has erected a lasting and honourable monument to his memory.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ A.E. Gunther, *The founders of science at the British Museum, 1753–1900* (Halesworth, Suffolk: Halesworth Press, 1980), 7.

⁵⁵ Corner and Booth, *Chain of friendship*, 144.

⁵⁶ Fothergill, *Works*, iii, xcix.

⁵⁷ Fothergill, *Works*, iii, xcix–xcx.

However, not everyone was so enthusiastic. George Ridpath (c.1717?–1772), Minister of Stichill, described how he read and reread *Aleppo*¹ in October 1756. Ridpath was a prolific and critical booklover who obtained books through the Kelso Subscription Library. His conclusions sum up why, despite any shortcomings, the book remained popular:

His account of the Plague is good ... In general, however, this work is neither remarkable for genius or erudition; but his account of things seems to be very faithful and exact, and many of them in their own nature are entertaining.⁵⁸

4.3.2 Models for Patrick

In this section literary models that might have influenced Patrick will be outlined. The style and bibliographical research methodology of *Aleppo*² was more than likely, in contrast to that of *Aleppo*¹, to have been influenced by classificatory encyclopaedic projects such as d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, a succession of universal histories, Gibbon's monumental philosophical history, and the over-complex textuality of Rennell's comparative geographies.

By the end of the eighteenth century, other literary models than those that influenced Alexander were fashionable. Attempts to classify and summarize knowledge included not only the work of Linnaeus in the field of botany but also the compilation of massive encyclopaedias to organize all extant knowledge.⁵⁹ In his approach, Patrick may have been influenced by a series of *Universal histories*,⁶⁰ a massive project that developed under the editorship of Sale. These histories were part of a tradition that flourished during the Enlightenment but declined towards the end of the eighteenth century, though whether they were 'enlightened' can be a matter of debate. They were analytical rather than synthetic and organised in two different sections, ancient (in volumes, 1730–1742) and modern (published 1758–1762). In contrast to the methodical presentations of *Aleppo*², some of the entries in the universal histories were jumbled attempts to unify and synthesize the known world. If the aim was worth emulating, their disorder may explain why Patrick cited the

⁵⁸ George Ridpath, *Diary of George Ridpath*, ed. Sir James Balfour-Paul (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1922), 94.

⁵⁹ Yeo, 'Classifying the Sciences', 246–7.

⁶⁰ George Sale et al. (eds), *An universal history* (London: T. Osborne, 1747–1768), vols 1–18, 'The Antient Part' of idem, *An universal history: from the earliest accounts to the present time*. Vols 19–60, renumbered 1–42, constitute *The modern part of the universal history*.

Universal Histories only six times: on al-Makin, 'al-Gazi', Abū al-Faraj (Bar Hebraeus), on circumcision, Jewish fasts and the use of henna.⁶¹

A second work that was to influence Patrick's production of the second edition was the famous and vast philosophical history, Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman empire* (1776–1788). For Gibbon, history writing became almost intellectual warfare⁶² in which he tried to provide order from seemingly random historical events by exploring the complex interrelationships between individuals and social institutions.⁶³ The Ottoman empire presented 'a static culture of ostentation' with its cultivated civil society, while the West was barbarian and unstable.⁶⁴ Whilst the French Enlightenment philosophers Voltaire and Montesquieu (1769–1755) searched for universal laws that might determine the fate of societies in narratives of the East that focused on Europe, Gibbon dismissed Voltaire's lively glances as superficial and inaccurate.⁶⁵

Gibbon's work was full of historically accurate detail, lucidly arranged with a fine sense of proportion, for he aimed to create order from an apparently chaotic multiplicity of historical events: a style that was akin to Patrick's. The arrangement of texts was carefully contrived, and he off-set narrative with essay-like commentary and thus 'prevented the fragmentation of the narrative into a series of well-written, but seemingly unconnected, historical *vignettes*.'⁶⁶ By integrating Muslim history with that of Rome and Byzantium, Gibbon's work was to have profound effects on the image of Islam from the eighteenth century. Gibbon, who knew no 'Oriental' languages, used Sale's translation and *Preliminary discourse* alongside Marracci's translation, in his *Decline and fall*.

However, Gibbon's overuse of sources can be indigestible. Embellishing the original text with many different references poses another problem: if the sources come from many different narrative traditions and from different historical periods

⁶¹ *Aleppo*², i, 350, 369, 408; ii, 74, 114–16.

⁶² Lionel Gossman. *The empire unpossess'd* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 97–98. Christopher Kelly, 'A Grand Tour', *Greece & Rome* 44/1 (1997), 39–58 (42–43).

⁶³ Kelly, 'Grand Tour'.

⁶⁴ Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 48–50, 171.

⁶⁵ Kelly, 'Grand Tour', 45–56.

⁶⁶ Kelly, 'Grand Tour', 44.

and are blended together, the encompassing master narrative can become difficult to reconstruct or fully comprehend. Peter Cosgrove,⁶⁷ who analysed *Decline and fall* in the light of Claude Lévi-Strauss's term *bricolage*⁶⁸ and 'intertextuality', concluded that reading *Decline and fall*, with its multiple overlapping discourses, 'is like passing through the cellular hexagons of Borges's grotesque bibliothropic fantasy'.⁶⁹ Likewise, the modern reader is unlikely to be familiar with the complex use and range of sources employed by Patrick in *Aleppo*² and might easily experience comprehension problems.

A third and significant influence on Patrick's style of presentation was the life-long project on comparative geographies by the great map-maker, Rennell, who was one of Patrick's close friends in first India, then London.⁷⁰ Rennell's methodology of comparative geography had some features in common with the intensive maze of bibliographic sources used in *Aleppo*². Rennell not only studied the principal geographical writers of antiquity with the aid of translations, but also read the works of every minor author who travelled in the Middle East that he could locate, seeing himself as part of a community of enquiry. Rennell published several parts of his life-long comparative geographies project from 1777 until his death in 1830, including a life of Herodotus.⁷¹ His texts were cluttered with explicit textual interventions. Curiously, this was during the Romantic period (*aka* the 'Age of Reflection') with its emphasis on emotionalism and the recognition that the objective and subjective are inseparable, in contrast to Enlightenment ideas about objectivity. Rennell's comparative geography and Patrick's *Aleppo* predate modern writers' dependence on citation. This can be disturbing for most modern readers for whom the style of eighteenth-century citation is both alien and familiar.

Geographers during the Enlightenment were concerned with scientific enquiry and precision that subsequently led to a discipline based on fieldwork. Rennell was

⁶⁷ Peter Cosgrove, *Impartial stranger* (London: Associated University Presses, 1999), 106.

⁶⁸ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *The savage mind* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966). The *bricoleur* invents structures by using materials which are easily available by adding, taking away, substituting and transposing elements (Winfried Nöth, *Handbook of Semiotics* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), 341).

⁶⁹ Cosgrove, *Impartial stranger*, 106.

⁷⁰ Starkey, 'James Rennell'. Patrick also referred Rennell to Niebuhr (*Aleppo observed*, 219).

⁷¹ James Rennell, *The geographical system of Herodotus examined and explained*, 2 vols (London: W. Bulmer, 1800).

in a liminal position: fascinated by mathematical geography, he identified places and routes mentioned by travellers as ‘collectors rather than interpreters of data’.⁷² Rennell wrote a study on the rate of travel by camels, and presented a paper to the Royal Society on 17 March 1791, entitled ‘On the rate of travelling as performed by camels: and its application, as a scale, to the purposes of geography’.⁷³ This was described by Patrick as ‘Respecting the rate of the Camel’s travelling, I can with great satisfaction refer to a Memoir of my most ingenious friend Major Rennel [sic], communicated to the Royal Society.’⁷⁴ For this article Rennell used accounts by Plaisted⁷⁵ and four accounts that were not specifically mentioned in *Aleppo*.⁷⁶ Plaisted crossed the Syrian Desert in 1750 with Mr Falquir, a Frenchman whom he met in Basra, with whom he had to communicate in Portuguese as it was the only language they had in common. Plaisted estimated that the caravan he travelled with from Basra to Aleppo had 2,000 camels, and was then joined by the Baghdad caravan, totalling 5,000 camels (about 400 laden, the rest for trade in Aleppo) and 1,000 men in total.⁷⁷ They reached Aleppo on 23 July 1750 and left Scanderoon (Alexandretta) on 11 August 1750.⁷⁸ Plaisted enlarged his own observations by those made by Alexander, whom he had the pleasure of knowing in Aleppo.⁷⁹

Patrick helped Rennell to research the subject by lending him John Carmichael’s travel journal (which Patrick quoted in detail),⁸⁰ amongst others, of his journey across the Syrian Desert in 1751.⁸¹ Rennell was concerned with accuracy and

⁷² Damiani, *Enlightened Observers*, 10.

⁷³ James Rennell, ‘On the rate of travelling as performed by camels’, *Philosophical Transactions* 81 (1791), 129–45, repr. in idem, *A treatise on the comparative geography of western Asia* (London: C.J.G. & F. Rivington, 1831).

⁷⁴ *Aleppo*², ii, 423.

⁷⁵ Patrick cited Plaisted’s ‘Journal’, 73, on hares making burrows (*Aleppo*², ii, 156).

⁷⁶ Strangely, Mr Hunter (1767); Mr Holford (1780) and Sir Eyles Irwin, *A series of adventures*, who are included by Rennell, ‘On the rate’, are not cited in *Aleppo*² though many of Rennell’s references were given to him by Patrick.

⁷⁷ Carruthers, *Desert route to India*, xxxiii.

⁷⁸ Bartholemew Plaisted, repr. as ‘A similar journey in 1750’, in Carruthers, *Desert route to India*, 59–128.

⁷⁹ Plaisted, ‘Similar journey’, 106–7.

⁸⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 422–3. Carmichael, late Gunner at Anjengo, dismissed from EIC at Bombay as a troublesome character, was obliged to take the desert route via Syria from London to India in order to settle his affairs. He subsequently worked for various local Indian rulers and died in Surat.

⁸¹ *Aleppo*², ii, 423, on Rennell’s paper ‘On the rate of travelling’, presented to the Royal Society, 17 March 1791. In this paper, later published in *Philosophical Transactions*, Rennell acknowledged ‘the manuscript copy of his [Carmichael’s] journal was obligingly communicated by my friend Dr Patrick

precise scrutiny of the travel sources on which he based his calculations and maps. His meticulous approach was supported by myriad observations made by travellers in the region who often carried with them a range of scientific instruments and provided useful scientific data on relative and specific locations: the same approach to data collection that was used by Alexander and Patrick in *Aleppo*. Carmichael had, in turn, used *Aleppo*¹; Ives⁸² used Carmichael's map, just as Patrick used Ives.⁸³

It can be argued that *Aleppo*² embraced the innovative comparative geography tradition whilst at the same time built upon Alexander's dated but more straightforward 'natural history' of *Aleppo*¹. However, whilst universal histories and comparative geography may have influenced Patrick, they remain fundamentally different, as *Aleppo* was based on an amalgam of sources that embellished the ethnographic, medical and natural history observations made by the Russells in the field. Furthermore, Patrick asked various eminent scholars to check parts of the draft of *Aleppo*². Patrick finished the medical section on his voyage out to India via the Cape of Good Hope. After he arrived in Tranquebar (Tharangambadi on the Coromandel Coast, India) in the summer of 1782, Patrick sent a draft of that part to William Hunter for his comments.⁸⁴ This was set out with Alexander's original text on one side and his own re-workings on the other. Its botanical chapter was substantially revised by Patrick and the great aristocrats of the Enlightenment, Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820) and the Swedish botanist, Daniel Carl Solander (1736–1782). Their contributions are discussed in more detail in Parts I and III of this volume.

4.4 Bibliographic authorities

Aleppo becomes more intellectually fascinating if a study is made of other texts cited in the two editions.⁸⁵ In *Aleppo*¹ Alexander cites less than a dozen references to bibliographic authorities: three classical authorities, one Arabic author, two medical

Russell.' Carmichael, 'A journal from Aleppo'; later printed in Carruthers, *Desert route to India*. Starkey, 'James Rennell'.

⁸² Ives, *Voyage*.

⁸³ *Aleppo*², i, 362 citing Ives, *Voyage*, 276, on *smūm* winds.

⁸⁴ The draft is in the Library of the Royal College of Surgeons London (Boogert, 'Patrick Russell', 227). ie. MS0014, Hunter-Baillie Collection, i.,2.

⁸⁵ Kristeva, *Sēmēiōtikē*, 146.

sources and Sale's *Preliminary discourse*. Generally Patrick was correcting mistakes and removing inconsistencies. As he rewrote *Aleppo*¹, Patrick provided additional information categories in *Aleppo*² that include the addition of: local names and terms in Arabic or Turkish; substantially more information from classical sources; accounts by Arab authors; as well as accounts by travellers, merchants and friends.⁸⁶ *Aleppo*² not only provides a fascinating insight into life in Aleppo but is a testament to the range of scholarly sources on the Middle East available by the end of the eighteenth century on a wide variety of subjects, several of which will be analysed in more detail in chapters that follow.⁸⁷ However, it would be a pointless exercise to trace *everything* that is written back to its source.

In this section, bibliographic sources used in *Aleppo* will be explored, with an initial focus on travel writers: the reliability of sources, the authenticity or corruption of primary texts and the credibility of authors. Whilst *Aleppo* has been located within the genre of travel writing, few modern studies of early travel writers in the Middle East have investigated the way information provided in earlier sources was incorporated into literature on the Middle East in the eighteenth century. Although *Aleppo*¹ made little if any use of existing travel literature, there were only a few contemporary travel journals about northern Syria available for Alexander to study.

Unlike Alexander, Patrick made use of many early to mid-eighteenth century travelogues as source material in *Aleppo*² but this was not a topic investigated in *Aleppo observed*. During the eighteenth century it remained common to find whole sections, paragraphs or sentences taken from an older text and absorbed into a later publication. For example, Plaisted uses the title 'A description of Aleppo, and the adjacent country',⁸⁸ on animals, crops and fruit available, and the material within Plaisted's chapter was a plagiarised version of Alexander's third chapter of *Aleppo* (1757). In contrast, as is clear from the first part of this volume, Patrick was a gentleman of great integrity, so it was important to him to be intellectually honest and for him to distinguish between Alexander's original text and his own additional information, and also to attribute any prior ideas or observations to the correct

⁸⁶ Chapter 6, this volume.

⁸⁷ *Aleppo*², i, xiii.

⁸⁸ Plaisted, 'Similar Journey', 102–13.

sources. When Patrick thought that ‘the author had been misinformed, or where some material correction of the text has been admitted, an explanatory note is either subjoined at the bottom of the page, or placed among the notes.’⁸⁹ By contextualizing the Russells’ observations through proper citations, he empowered his readers to assess the relevance of any authorities to Alexander’s original text.

Whilst there were virtually no bibliographic references in the first edition, citations in *Aleppo*² are often very succinct, pithy and to the point. The various bibliographic authorities take many forms. It will therefore be useful to explore the various ways Patrick, in particular, referred to such authorities. Sometimes citations were added to confirm the Russells’ observations. On other occasions, quotations from earlier authorities were added. Each edition, and especially *Aleppo*², is a ‘mosaic of quotations’⁹⁰ which add substance or authority to the existing text; at other times they may have been used to avoid any danger of imitation or plagiarism. At times Patrick provided extensive authorities as part of the pleasure of embellishing and nurturing the new text in honour of his dead brother. In the chapters that follow many examples of the ways Patrick used other authorities will be provided to illuminate this theme.

*Aleppo*² is a repository of useful knowledge that needs to be ‘unpacked’ or decompressed for it to be really useful: a major task for modern readers. Building on *Aleppo*¹, *Aleppo*² was embellished with citations and references to travel narratives written by travellers from different backgrounds and training. As a result, *Aleppo*² contains references to almost every travelogue about the Levant published in Europe before 1793 and reflects Patrick’s attention to detail. Statements were substantiated in *Aleppo*² with other historical, literary, geographical or scientific sources to provide depth and substance. Patrick combined an edited version of the text of the first edition of *Aleppo* with a wide variety of classical, Arabic and European bibliographic authorities as well as intimate ethnographic details of the city. This process of adding relevant citations and quotations was authoritative, and provided a stimulating cross-fertilization of comparative data and ideas. It will be important to give proper

⁸⁹ *English Review* (1794), 82.

⁹⁰ Julia Kristeva, *Séméiotikê* (Paris: Seuil, 1969), 66.

attention to the context of these sources in order to appreciate the quality of the scholarship of the second edition.

Patrick outlined the methodology he used for the second edition in his Preface:

For many years before he engaged in the present Work, he had little leisure for perusing the journals of Eastern travellers; and after his return to Britain, he resolved, with a view to avoid blending matters collected from reading, with what might be suggested by his experience in Turkey, not to look into Books of Travels, till he should have sketched from recollection, all he meant to insert as supplementary to his Brother's Book. It was his intention after this, to peruse as many as time would permit, and comparing them with his own manuscript as he proceeded, to note down such circumstances as should appear to him new, doubtful, or erroneous.⁹¹

Patrick explained his methodology:

In this course of reading, some of the early travels were perused with much satisfaction. The writers, though credulous in some things, were generally found correct in those matters which fell under their own observation; and however mistaken zeal might sometimes betray them into misrepresentation of the religion and moral practice of the Mohammedans, their prejudices did not perhaps influence their accounts of the manners of the people, more than subtle. Theories of civil Society have, in modern times, influenced the observations of some more philosophical travellers.⁹²

A brief overview of the range of travel accounts used by Patrick is now provided. Travel accounts of the Enlightenment, based as they were on searches for truth and sound knowledge that involved careful and rational observation, served as foils for earlier romantic literature that confused truth and fiction. For example, the fictional compiler Sir John Mandeville of supposed travels, which were published between 1357 and 1371,⁹³ became the standard account of the East for several centuries. Mandeville incorporated earlier accounts of travel and pilgrim's guides to the Holy Land into his own travelogue. His *Travels* are 'deliriously fantastic ... combining myth and exotica ... with plausible ethnographic information'.⁹⁴ In 1811 it was dubbed 'a work of no authenticity and unworthy of credit.'⁹⁵ Patrick only cites his *Travels* on carrier pigeons.⁹⁶

⁹¹ *Aleppo*², i, xiii.

⁹² *Aleppo*², i, xiii.

⁹³ *Aleppo*², ii, 430 only cites Sir John Mandeville, pseud., *The voyage and travaile of Sir John Maundevile* (London: J. Woodman et al., 1725), 143, on carrier pigeons.

⁹⁴ Srinivas Aravamudan, *Enlightenment Orientalism* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 143.

⁹⁵ Robert Kerr, *A general history of voyages and travels to the end of the 18th century* (London: J. Ballantyne, 1811), i, 432.

⁹⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 430.

Many of the earlier accounts were in the form of pilgrim guides. Plain, clear descriptions were provided such as those by Maundrell with his careful measurements and plans of major sites.⁹⁷ Its style and tone were modelled on earlier pilgrim guides to the Holy Land.⁹⁸ Sir Richard Francis Burton (1821–1890) commented that the city of ‘Aleppo has been happy in finding such monographers as Russell and Maundrell while poor Damascus fell into the hands of Mr. Missionary Porter,⁹⁹ and suffered accordingly.’¹⁰⁰ Yet Maundrell, chaplain in Aleppo from 1695 until his death, shows little sympathy for or understanding of Muslims and did not learn Arabic.¹⁰¹ Perhaps this was why there are only two references in *Aleppo*² to Maundrell’s *Account of a journey* (Figure 6): on the town of Saphet¹⁰² that William Biddulph, writing in 1609, mentioned, and a very long quotation from Maundrell about the character of Turks.¹⁰³ Until the late seventeenth century the West generally feared the Turks, who had besieged Vienna in 1529 and 1683.¹⁰⁴ The historian Richard Knolles (1545–1610), who knew no Turkish, described them as ‘the present terror of the world’.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 420–3 cited Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, on the character of the Turks.

⁹⁸ Moseley’s introduction to Mandeville, *Voiage [sic] and travaile [sic]*.

⁹⁹ Rev. J.L. Porter, a Presbyterian missionary at Damascus; author of *Five years in Damascus* (London: John Murray, 1855) and *Handbook for travellers in Syria and Palestine* (London: John Murray, 1858). Parick never became an Anglican (*Aleppo*², i, 416).

¹⁰⁰ Richard Francis Burton, ‘Terminal essay’, *Arabian Nights* (London: Athenaeum Club, 30 September 1886); idem, *The Book of the thousand Nights and a Night*, 17 vols ([London]: Burton club, [1885–1888]), n.171.

¹⁰¹ Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, repr. in John Pinkerton (ed.), *A general collection of the best and most interesting voyages and travels in all parts of the world* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1811), 380.

¹⁰² Safed, the highest town in Galilee and centre of Kabbalah (Jewish mysticism), from the sixteenth century.

¹⁰³ *Aleppo*², i, 420–2; ii, 85. Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*; Robin A. Butlin, ‘Maundrell, Henry (bap.1665, d.1701)’, *ODNB*.

¹⁰⁴ Irwin, *Lust of knowing*, 109–10.

¹⁰⁵ Richard Knolles, *The Generall historie of the Turkes* (1603; [London]: Adam Islip, 1621), 1.



FIGURE 6. 'The Prospect of Aleppo' from Henry Maundrell, *A journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem* (c.1703). Signed 'MB', probably M. Burghers (artist and engraver)

Whilst Alexander never included earlier travel reports, Patrick railed against two specific earlier travellers who misrepresented communities. The first was 'Symon Simion' (Symon Simeonis), a pious Irish Franciscan monk on pilgrimage to the Holy Land in 1322.¹⁰⁶ In a rather pompous account, Simeonis accused the population of being sodomites, villains and cohabiting with asses and beasts.¹⁰⁷ The second was the Nuremberg patrician, Martin von Baumgarten (1473–1535) who described his travels in Syria 1507–1508.¹⁰⁸ Von Baumgarten 'might possibly, while

¹⁰⁶ Symon Simeonis, *Itineraria Simonis Simeonis et Willelmi de Worcestre* (ed.) James Nasmyth (Cambridge: J. Archdeacon, 1778). Patrick's text is misleading as he appears to call him the 'learned Bishop of Apamea' (*Aleppo*², i, 411), but meant no doubt the Lebanese Maronite Orientalist, Stephano Evodo Assemani (1707–1782), Archbishop of Apamea in Syria, who succeeded his uncle, Joseph Simone Assemani (1687–1768), as head of the Vatican Library.

¹⁰⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 411.

¹⁰⁸ *Aleppo*², i, 410–1 cites descriptions in 1505 from Martin von Baumgarten, *Peregrinatio in Aegyptum, Arabiam, Palaestinam et Syriam*, ed. Christoph Donauer (Nuremberg: P. Kavffmannvm,

in Turkey, have seen an instance of public punishment of the crime alluded to [i.e. he claimed that the Turks baked a saint in the sun], but what proof could he have had of the actual commission of such sufficient to justify so general a charge against a numerous body of people, with whom he cannot be supposed to have been familiarly acquainted!’ On the other hand, Patrick concluded that had they known more Turkish people they would have ‘surely have known some who led decent lives’.¹⁰⁹

Between 1756 and the time *Aleppo*² was produced, there were substantially more travelogues of high quality on the Levant and the Ottoman empire available for Patrick to peruse and many were written by authors whom he knew personally. Hachicho, coincidentally, lists many of the travelogues that were cited by Patrick. Hachicho’s thorough survey of travellers to northern Syria identified different types of travellers, including those whose visits were brief, long-term residents and explorers.¹¹⁰ Pratt identifies two types of travel account: the first includes specialized, descriptive texts, such as *Aleppo*, with its scientific data and ethnographic observations; and, secondly, ego-centred narratives, especially after 1760, where the focus was on the author’s own self-reflexivity and sentimentality.¹¹¹ Likewise, Patrick recognized that problems in communication, based on superficial immersion in the cultural landscape of the Levant by fleeting travellers, could lead to distortion in such accounts:

The latter [inquisitive travellers] though better qualified for inquiry by preparatory studies [than mercantile Gentlemen], may be supposed from ignorance of the language, to have sometimes been led into error by the menial servants, on whose fidelity, as Interpreters, they are usually obliged to rely.¹¹²

Lady Mary (author of fascinating primary text itself), in a Letter dated 1 April 1717, made the same complaint about those travellers who stayed too short a time to be able to report anything accurately.¹¹³ Patrick criticized short-stay travellers: ‘while from the mode of travelling, and their short stay in places, such matters were left

1594); transl. *The travels of Martin von Baumgarten through Egypt, Arabia, Palestine and Syria in three books* (London: Churchill and Churchill, 1704). Also identified in *Aleppo observed*, 197–8.

¹⁰⁹ *Aleppo*², i, 411.

¹¹⁰ Hachicho, ‘English travel books’, 48–50.

¹¹¹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes* (New York: Routledge, 1992), especially chapters 3–5.

¹¹² *Aleppo* (1757), 101.

¹¹³ Lady Mary, *The Letters and works of Lady Mary Wortly Montagu, edited by her great grandson Lord Wharncliffe*, 2 vols (Paris: Bandy’s European Library, 1837), i, 287.

unexplored, as, requiring a greater length of time to investigate, more naturally became fit objects for persons resident in the country.’¹¹⁴ Yet, even just after the first edition was published, Patrick was aware that

the polity and manners of the Turks had been amply described by several respectable writers; but he had frequent occasions to remark in conversation, that many domestic minutiae, lying less in the way of travellers, had either escaped notice altogether, or been erroneously represented.¹¹⁵

Travel accounts by ‘long-time residents’, including mercantile gentlemen, clerics, physicians (like the Russells), ambassadors and consuls, had much more substance than those of short-time travellers. Their careful (and no doubt more accurate) descriptions were based on shrewd observation by authors immersed in another culture over many years. The English Orientalist, William Marsden (1754–1836),¹¹⁶ a member of the Royal Society Club at the same time as Patrick, pointed out the value of the ‘concurring authority of gentlemen’ who through ‘long acquaintance with the natives, extensive knowledge of their language, ideas and manners and respectability of character render them worthy of the most implicit faith that can be given to human testimony.’¹¹⁷

Sir James Porter FRS (1710–1776), the British Ambassador to the Ottoman Porte from 1747 to 1762, and a member of the Society of Dilettanti from 1766,¹¹⁸ wrote an account of his experiences entitled *Observations on the religion, law, government, and manners of the Turks* (1768). Perhaps because of his long residence in the Ottoman empire, Porter described the Turkish Government as ‘a species of limited monarchy’.¹¹⁹ Patrick was critical of Porter’s grasp of provincial Ottoman affairs; of Porter’s misinterpretations about prayer and Ramadan; of his comments on ‘Oriental reticence’;¹²⁰ and of his methodology: ‘The information clearly could

¹¹⁴ *Aleppo*², i, ix.

¹¹⁵ *The English Review* (1794), 82, citing *Aleppo*², i, vi.

¹¹⁶ Marsden was in the employ of the EIC in Sumatra 1771–1779.

¹¹⁷ Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, vii.

¹¹⁸ Lionel Cust and Sir Sidney Colvin, *History of the Society of Dilettanti* (London, Macmillan, 1898), 265.

¹¹⁹ Sir James Porter, *Turkey* (London: Hurst & Blackett, 1854), i, 265. As William Robertson pointed out, Porter seemed oblivious to the despotism of the Ottoman empire (William Robertson, *The History of the Reign of Emperor Charles V* (London: W. Strahan & T. Cadell, 1777), 469–70).

¹²⁰ Damiani, *Enlightened observers*, 142–3.

neither have been derived from the Turks themselves, nor from their books; yet I have no doubt that the Author considered it as exactly true'.¹²¹

The *Description of the East* was written by a wealthy clergyman Richard Pococke who arrived in Aleppo on 29 July 1738¹²² and was a distant relative of the Orientalist Edward Pococke. Though there is no particular evidence, this text may well have influenced the style used in *Aleppo*¹. Indeed, Alexander does not cite either Pococke, nor make any mention of European travellers or visitors. The quality of observations made in 1743–1745 made *Description of the East* one of the most popular travelogue in the mid-eighteenth century. Richard Pococke interpreted Middle Eastern customs and traditions in the light of scriptural and classical traditions but painted an idyllic picture of English life in Aleppo. Unlike Alexander, he was interested in examining antiquities, visiting sites with Levant Company factor and classical scholar, Arthur Pullinger,¹²³ studying the modern conditions and peoples in the light of ancient geographies. The various quotes in *Aleppo*² reflect Richard Pococke's antiquarian interests: Turkmen tents, Chingani (a Gypsy or Bohemian group) and Kurdish migrations; a sunk village, Mamlūk sepulchres and a Greek inscription that Alexander Drummond took from the city wall.¹²⁴

Patrick was predisposed towards works by several explorers who were part of his own intellectual and collegiate network but, loyal to the concept of rational observer, most of his accounts are in the third person, whilst other travelogues of the time were more often in the form of narratives in the first person. An exuberant friend was the famous Scottish explorer, James Bruce,¹²⁵ who was consul-general in Algiers from 1763 to 1765, a position he obtained probably due to the impact of the classicist Robert Wood (1714–1771).¹²⁶ Wood had published *The Ruins of Palmyra*,

¹²¹ *Aleppo*², i, 419.

¹²² Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and some other countries* (London: W. Bowyer, 1743–1745). Elizabeth Baigent, 'Pococke, Richard (1704–1765)', *ONDB*.

¹²³ Pococke, *Description of the East*, i, 150.

¹²⁴ *Aleppo*², i, 353–6, 390–2, 444).

¹²⁵ A. Murray, *Account of the life and writings of James Bruce of Kinnaird* (Edinburgh: George Ramsey, 1808); Nigel Leask, 'Bruce, James, of Kinnaird (1730–1794)', *ONDB*.

¹²⁶ Bruce, Algiers, consul. 1763 Robert Wood was elected to the Society of Dilettanti (Cust and Colvin, *Society of Dilettanti*, 260).

the *Ruins of Baalbec*; and an essay on the *Original Genius and writings of Homer*,¹²⁷ in which Wood argued that Homer's works were historically accurate and that the landscape and customs recorded in the classic epics could still be observed in their original settings. Surprisingly, there were no references to Wood in *Aleppo*² although his friend Bruce was mentioned eight times: on hunting in Barbary, on the possible number of toes of a jerboa; referring the reader to Bruce's text on the dreadful Simooly winds (*smūm*); quoting Bruce on the proportion of males to females in Aleppo and his description of a bee-eater.¹²⁸ Finally, Patrick fiercely defended Bruce's description of camels and his honesty, and in the process described Bruce's irritable temper.¹²⁹ Patrick's protest, unusually written in the first person, was written just before *Aleppo*² was published and after Bruce's death on 27 April 1794.

Encyclopaedic compilations of early travel literature enabled information to be readily accessible and were cited in *Aleppo*². Great compilers included Richard Hakluyt (1552/1553–1616) whose works are cited six times: on the 1580 Capitulations; about a journey from London on the ship called the *Tiger*,¹³⁰ then across the Syrian Desert to Persia in 1583 made by English gentlemen-merchants: John Newberrie, Ralph Fitch (c.1550–1611), jeweller William Leedes, James Story and John Eldred (1552–1632), including references to Eldred's narrative; and about William Barret, the first consul in Aleppo in 1583.¹³¹ Another prominent compiler of travel accounts was Samuel Purchas (c.1577–1626) who held Knolles, Biddulph and the poet, Sir George Sandys (1577–1644), in high regard and continued editing collections of English and European travel literature begun by Hakluyt.¹³² There are

¹²⁷ Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra* (London: [s.n.], 1753); idem, *Ruins of Baalbec* (London: [s.n.], 1757); idem, *An essay on the original genius and the writings of Homer* (London: T. Payne and M. Elmsly, 1775).

¹²⁸ *Aleppo*², i, 362, 440; ii, 162, 187, 198, 420–1.

¹²⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, 427.

¹³⁰ William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, Act I, scene 3.

¹³¹ *Aleppo*², i, iii–vi, 375–6. Richard Hakluyt, *The principal navigations, voyages, & discoveries of the English nation* (1589); revised edition, 5 vols (1599–1600).

¹³² Samuel Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 4 vols (London: [s.n.], 1625), Knolles, *Historie of the Turkes*; George Sandys, *A Relation of a Journey Begun AD 1610* (London, 1615) and William Biddulph, *Travels of certaine Englishmen into Africa, Asia, Troy, Bythnia, Thracia, and to the Blacke Sea and into Syria* (London: T. Haueland, 1609), were Purchas's main sources (Anders Ingram, *English literature on the Ottoman Turks in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, 262–3. Durham University [Unpublished]). Although there are nine references to Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus* in

nine references in *Aleppo*² to various extracts in Purchas's *Hakluytus Posthumus* (1625).¹³³

From the mid-eighteenth century, extracts and compilations appeared as collections of travel writings. There are four references in *Aleppo*² to a collection of voyages compiled by the scientific writer, Dr John Harris that he gleaned from Hakluyt and Purchas:¹³⁴ on Sir Francis Drake's introduction of tobacco in 1579, on tobacco smoking in India as described by Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador to the Mogul capital at Agra from 1615 to 1618,¹³⁵ and on Newberrie and his fellow travellers.¹³⁶ Such fashionable and popular compendia did much to enhance European interest in the Levant and would have been familiar to any informed reader of travel literature in the eighteenth century.

In order to show how early sources were integrated, cited or quoted, Patrick's treatment of a specific topic, Jewish dress, will be outlined in this section. Whilst Alexander provided only a few snippets about costume in *Aleppo*¹ and nothing on the subject, Patrick gave some detail.¹³⁷ There was an elaborate political, ethnic and religious hierarchy,¹³⁸ with ranks and dress codes and associated complicated rules of etiquette and ceremony.¹³⁹ Information from travelogues was placed alongside the Russells' own observations, thus:—

The Jews are easily distinguished by their violet-coloured babooge, and their Turban ... They [the Jews] wear also sashes of other colours, and tye them in a most slovenly manner. 'Before the year 1600 (according to Biddulph) the Jews wore red hats without brims, but about that time a Grand Vizer, offended at the red colour, obliged them to wear blue hats.'⁴ By hats he means Turbans; and the sashes of some of their Turbans are still red. They all wear the beard; and even the Frank Jews are obliged by the Khakhan to comply with the custom.¹⁴⁰

*Aleppo*², I could not clearly identify any references to Purchas's own account, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (London: Stansby, 1613; 1617; 1619; 1626) therein.

¹³³ *Aleppo*², i, 375–6, 414, 487–8, Appendix, iv–v; ii, 59, 74. Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, ii, 1262, 1354, 1338, 1340, 1410, 1642–3, 1730.

¹³⁴ John Harris, *Navigantium atque itinerantium bibliotheca* (London: T. Woodward et al., 1744–1748).

¹³⁵ Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador to the Porte (1621–1629); his 'A Continuation of the Turkish history' was appended to Knolles's 1631 edition of *Generall historie of the Turkes*; republished in Harris, *Navigantium* (*Aleppo*², i, 378; Appendix, vii).

¹³⁶ *Aleppo*², 373, 376, 378.

¹³⁷ For more on the Jewish community in Aleppo, see below.

¹³⁸ Léon Modena, *Historia de gli riti hebraici* (Paris: [J. Gaffarel], 1637) described Jewish costumes (*Aleppo*², ii, 60).

¹³⁹ *Aleppo*², i, 100–15, 336, 350; Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 17, 64;

¹⁴⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 59.

Patrick's text, quoted above, was copied and modified by Joseph Conder in 1830 as:—

The Jews are easily distinguished by their violet-coloured *babooge*, and their low turban. Before the year 1600, they wore red turbans, but about that time, a Grand Vizier, taking offence at the red colour, obliged them to wear blue. Some of them still wear red shashes.¹⁴¹

By examining Patrick's text in more detail, it will be possible to appreciate its complexity; indeed, Norman Stillman discussed this excerpt in *The Jews of Arab Lands*. Stillman identified the *shāsh* as a piece of cloth wrapped around a cap to form a turban.¹⁴² *Babooge* (*bābūj*)¹⁴³ are slippers without heels: women wore yellow slippers, priests black. Patrick included descriptions by the German naturalist Leonhard Rauwolff (1535–1596) and of blue or white slippers by Fynes Moryson (1566–1630)¹⁴⁴ and referred the reader to Niebuhr's account, *Voyage en Arabie*, for further details.¹⁴⁵ 'Frank Jews' (*Franj*) settled in Aleppo in the seventeenth-century especially from Italy and France. The 'Khakhan' is the chief rabbi, i.e. *ḥākhām-bāshī*. Patrick described the dress and duties of this priest and provided a detailed Note XIV on the meaning of this term.¹⁴⁶ Patrick discussed differences in influence of the *khakhan* over fasts between the time Alexander was in Aleppo and his own.¹⁴⁷ Patrick provided a supporting reference about Jewish beards in his footnote 5 from Leviticus xix: 27. The King James Bible gives this verse as: 'Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard.'

Patrick added a quotation identified in his footnote 4 as being from 'Biddulph in Purchas, p. 1342'. This can be identified as 'Part of a Letter of Master William Biddulph from Aleppo', in Purchas's epic collection.¹⁴⁸ Biddulph, Protestant chaplain to the English factory in Aleppo from 1599 to 1608, recorded his twenty-

¹⁴¹ Josiah Conder, *The modern traveller*, 30 vols (London: J. Duncan, 1830), i, 290). Conder adapted/plagiarized excerpts from *Aleppo*².

¹⁴² Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab lands* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 318, 321.

¹⁴³ Curiously, it was also a local term for *Silurus*, a river fish 'Silurus Cous. Linn. Syst. Nat. p.504' (*Aleppo*², ii, 211).

¹⁴⁴ Fynes Moryson, *An Itinerary* (London: J. Beale, 1617).

¹⁴⁵ *Aleppo*², i, 366 citing Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, i. 127.

¹⁴⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 64, 399.

¹⁴⁷ *Aleppo*¹, 131; *Aleppo*², ii, 76.

¹⁴⁸ Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus* (1905–1907), viii, 271. Biddulph in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 1339 (*Aleppo*², i, 410; 1342; ii, 59, 74).

three-day journey on horseback to Jerusalem, leaving Aleppo in March 1600. His *Travels of certaine Englishmen*,¹⁴⁹ were based on a series of letters and published in 1609.¹⁵⁰ Patrick referred to an erroneous belief held by ‘some of the ignorant vulgar among the Christian natives, [who] pretend that the Jews have sometimes, on this occasion sacrificed a Christian child stolen from its parents’¹⁵¹ and again quoted Biddulph: ‘The Jews still observe all their old ceremonies and feasts, sacrifices only excepted. Yet some of them have confessed that their physicians kill some Christian patient or other, whom they have under their hands at that time, instead of a sacrifice’ as evidence of an ‘idle story’: clearly not something that Patrick believed to be true. Subsequently, d’Arvieux and the French natural scientist and traveller, Jean de Thévenot (1633–1667),¹⁵² were outspokenly negative about some Jewish attributes: Patrick slightly less so.¹⁵³

The background to these various sources used by Patrick are fascinating to research and represent a most extraordinary record of scholarship on the Middle East at the time, but one cannot help having some sympathy with the critic of *Aleppo*² in the *Monthly Review*:

The notes and illustrations are almost entirely quotations from authors with some occasional criticisms. As they are not confined to what concerns Aleppo and its vicinity, but frequently refer to the Turkish empire in general, their extension seems to have been in a great measure arbitrary; and perhaps many readers would rather have wished to have possessed the information arising from the author’s and editor’s own observations.¹⁵⁴

4.5 The editorial process: a case study

It will be useful to consider when and where Patrick’s editing process became ‘rewriting’. In a review of *Aleppo*² the critic commented:

Dr Patrick Russel [sic], the brother of [Alexander], modestly denominates himself only the Editor of the second edition; but when we consider the numerous additions made to the work, the variety of information and extent of knowledge displayed in the notes, as well as in the matter interspersed in the body of the history, it may easily be allowed, that the Editor well deserves to be considered as an original author. He wants not, however, the aid of the present publication to strengthen such claims, having in his *History of the Plague*,

¹⁴⁹ Biddulph, *Travels of certaine Englishmen*.

¹⁵⁰ Gerald MacLean, ‘Strolling in Syria with William Biddulph’, *Criticism* 46/3 (2004) 415–39.

¹⁵¹ *Aleppo*², ii, 74, quoting Biddulph in Purchas, *Hakluytus Posthumus*, 1342.

¹⁵² Jean de Thévenot, *Relation d’un voyage fait en Levant*, 3 volumes (1665, 1674, 1678).

¹⁵³ d’Arvieux, *Mémoires*, v, 441 (*Aleppo*², i, 420); Thévenot, *Travels ... into the Levant* (London: H. Clark, 1687), 159 (*Aleppo*², i, 420; ii, 60, 61, 64–66, 78).

¹⁵⁴ *Monthly Review* 18 (1795), 257–8.

sufficiently proved the legitimacy of his title to a place in the first rank of modern writers.¹⁵⁵

The narrative may have been reshaped for aesthetic reasons or to rationalize the original text. Patrick always tried to avoid adding new material, preferring to correct any mistakes or ambiguities in *Aleppo*¹, though there are obviously whole sections, references and notes that Patrick has added himself in his second edition.

Issues over editorial relationships between the 1756 edition and the second edition of 1794 were highlighted in a review of *Aleppo*² in *The Monthly Review*:

As the additional matter is not distinguished by a particular mark, nothing but a direct comparison between the two editions could enable us to state it with exactness:— but the editor, in a general way, points out the parts which have received the principal augmentations.¹⁵⁶

In order to illustrate the complexity of Patrick's editorial process, two passages about water supplies to Aleppo and its management are analysed as a case study, partly as a result of enthusiastic comments by grammarian Bishop Robert Lowth (1710–1787): 'Dr Russel [sic] has described this regeneration of nature in most lively colours in his *Natural History of Aleppo*, a book which every man ought to read who wishes not only literally to understand the oriental writers but to feel them.'¹⁵⁷

Alexander's initial version reads (as usual in the present tense):

The city is supplied with very good water from some springs near the banks of the river at Heylan, about five miles to the north north east, which is conveyed from thence by an aqueduct, and distributed to the different parts of the town by earthen pipes. There is a tradition, that this aqueduct was the work of the empress Helena, and that from her the springs took their present name: this water is sufficient for the necessary purposes of drinking, cookery, &c. Besides this, almost every house has a well, but the water of these, being brackish, is only employed for washing their court yards, and filling the reservoirs for their fountains.¹⁵⁸

This excerpt was abbreviated in a compendium (1776) to

This city is supplied with water from some springs brought hither by an aqueduct, and distributed to different parts by means of communicating-pipes: every house has moreover a well, but the water of it being brackish, is used only in washing their court-yards, and filling their fountains.¹⁵⁹

As Patrick explained, he subsequently rewrote and embellished *Aleppo*¹. The rewritten or edited version of the above texts is to be found in *Aleppo*², i, 41–43:

¹⁵⁵ *British Critic* 4 (1794), 462–3.

¹⁵⁶ *Monthly Review* 18 (1795), 252.

¹⁵⁷ Robert Lowth, *Lectures on the sacred poetry of the Hebrew* (London: J. Johnson, 1839), 68.

¹⁵⁸ *Aleppo*¹, 7.

¹⁵⁹ [Charles Burlington], *The modern traveller* (London: T. Lowndes, 1776), 116.

The city is supplied with good water from two springs which rise near Heylan, a village about eight miles distant to the Northward. It is conveyed thence by an aqueduct, partly on a level with the ground, in some places covered, but mostly open; and partly subterranean, refreshed by air shafts. After making several turnings, the aqueduct enters the city on the North East side, and the water, by means of earthen or leaden pipes, is distributed to the public fountains, baths, seraglios, and to as many of the private houses as choose to be at the expence: the others, or such as are situated in the higher parts of the town, are supplied by the sackals, or watermen, who transport the water from the fountains in goat skins prepared on purpose, which they either load upon horses, or carry upon their own shoulders.¹⁶⁰

Patrick also added extra information about water supplies, including a discussion about a scheme to provide water in summer for the gardens by cutting a canal at the junction of the river Sejour (Nahr al-Sājūr) with the Kowick (Quwāyiq),¹⁶¹ provided in Note VII.

On the same subject, Patrick embellished the following section of the 1756 edition — ‘this water is sufficient for the necessary purposes of drinking, cookery, &c. Besides this, almost every house has a well, but the water of these, being brackish, is only employed for washing their court yards, and filling the reservoirs for their fountains’¹⁶² — with accounts of the use of earthen jars, the need to clean the aqueduct, the use of subterranean reservoirs (*sahreege*)¹⁶³ under the Khanes and private houses, descriptions of public fountains and of the draw-wells in most houses.¹⁶⁴ When the aqueduct is being cleaned, water is brought in skins from the Kuwaik, but otherwise contributes little to the water supplies.¹⁶⁵ They both describe the role during the plague of water-carriers (*sacka*) who carried water in skins.¹⁶⁶ Alexander mentioned Persian water wheels¹⁶⁷ used to raise water to irrigate fields. Patrick again provided more detail than Alexander about water wheels: ‘The gardens ... are supplied from the river, by the aid of Persian wheels; and the water, by means

¹⁶⁰ *Aleppo*², i, 41–43.

¹⁶¹ D.J. MacGowan, ‘The “Kuweik River”’, *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 32 (1862), 74–76.

¹⁶² *Aleppo*¹, 7.

¹⁶³ Arabic: صهرج *sahrj*. These subterranean cisterns are an ancient effective method of water harvesting dating back to the early Roman empire and found around the Mediterranean. Constructed by excavating bedrock, often limestone, to between 3 to 7 m, to catch run-off and store flood-water in the rainy season.

¹⁶⁴ *Aleppo*², i, 42–45.

¹⁶⁵ *Aleppo*², i, 44.

¹⁶⁶ *Aleppo*¹, 256. embellished in *Aleppo*², ii, 380. Arabic: سقاء *saqqā*. Patrick uses *sakals* for *saqqā*. *Aleppo*², i, 24.

¹⁶⁷ *Aleppo*¹, 20.

of pumps, and wooden pipes, or troughs, is conveyed to reservoirs in the higher grounds, whence it is occasionally let off into the watering channels.’¹⁶⁸

Unlike Alexander, Patrick supported his text by citing earlier travellers. In Note VII Patrick reflects on the error by Jacob Golius (1596–1667)¹⁶⁹ in thinking that water was brought by underground canals from the Euphrates. Patrick concluded Note VII with a long quotation from Richard Pococke¹⁷⁰ in which he described springs that were likely to be the source the Sejour (Sajūr) river rather than springs that came from the Euphrates.¹⁷¹ Patrick referred to *Travels to different cities*, for further information about the source of the Kowick River.¹⁷² In addition, Patrick provided a detailed endnote about *sahrīj* being called *al-gob* or *al-guib*,¹⁷³ a term Patrick identified as ‘draw wells’.¹⁷⁴ This term was taken from the twelfth-century *Voyages* of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1130–1173), the earliest medieval European account used by Patrick.¹⁷⁵ A broadminded Sephardic Jew, Benjamin described Aleppo sometime between 1160 and 1173 but, according to his thirteen-year-old translator, Jean-Philippe Baratier (1720–1740), Benjamin may not have visited Aleppo but relied on earlier and incorrect texts.

To support his edited text further, Patrick specifically cited Arab authors who he thought had particular links with Aleppo, many of them, coincidentally, being physicians. Thus, continuing this analysis on information about water sources, when Patrick described its earthen and leaden pipes, fountains, reservoirs and subterranean

¹⁶⁸ *Aleppo*², i, 48.

¹⁶⁹ ‘*Notae in Alfergan.*’, probably ‘*Iacobi Golii in Alferganum notae*’ to the astronomical treatise of Abū al-Abbās Aḥmad Ibn Muḥammad Ibn Kathīr al-Farghānī (fl.861). *Kitāb fī al-ḥarakah al-samāwīyah wa-jawmī‘ ʿilm al-nujūm bi-tafsīr al-shaykh al-fādil = Muhammedis fil. Ketiri Ferganensis, qui vulgo Alfraganus dicitur, Elementa astronomica* (Amsterdam: Johannem Janssonium, 1669), 273. Irwin, *lust of knowing*, 103–4, on Golius, the great Dutch Orientalist of Lieden.

¹⁷⁰ Richard Pococke, *Description of the East*, i, 154.

¹⁷¹ *Aleppo*² i, 354.

¹⁷² Drummond, *Different cities*, 204, 243.

¹⁷³ *Aleppo*², i, 353. Arabic: *jubb* ‘hollow’, cistern’.

¹⁷⁴ Benjamin of Tudela noted cisterns were called *algob* in Arabic. Patrick provided a long note suggesting that Benjamin never went to Aleppo. He based this supposition on Pococke, *Description of the East*, and Drummond, *Different cities* (*Aleppo*², i, 353–5). Buckingham, who stayed with Consul John Barker in Aleppo in 1816, noted that *al-gub* was used in Aleppo for cistern, but based this on Benjamin’s statement (James Silk Buckingham, *Travels among the Arab tribes inhabiting the countries east of Syria and Palestine* (London: Longman et al., 1825), 596).

¹⁷⁵ *Aleppo*², i, 353–5. Benjamin, of Tudela, *Voyages de Rabbi Benjamin fils de Jona de Tudele, en Europe, en Asie & en Afrique, depuis l’Espagne jusqu’à la Chine* (Amsterdam: aux dépens de la Compagnie, 1734), i, 126. Rabbi Benjamin left Tudela, northern Spain, 1159/1163, returning 1172. Curt Leviant, *Masterpieces of Hebrew literature* (New York: Ktav, 1969), 336–7, 358.

passages he cited the fifteenth-century historian, Ibn al-Shihna (c.1450)¹⁷⁶ who, according to Patrick, relied on an earlier source, ‘Eben al Hateeb’ (Ibn al-Khaṭīb). Tantalisingly, he left it to his readers to pursue all relevant Arab sources.¹⁷⁷

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided a brief overview of a range of elements that are part of the editorial process of the two editions of *Aleppo* and outlined various aspects that will be discussed in more detail in later chapters. Patrick used many more forms of textual apparatus than those used by Alexander in order to construct an authoritative authorial *persona* which conformed to his audience’s expectations. Unlike *Aleppo*¹ which relied on its trustworthy first-hand account of the Aleppine landscape, specific themes and brilliant illustrations, *Aleppo*² went much further to conform to the literary standards of its day by substantially reworking the original 1756 text. Alexander’s version of *Aleppo* was simply written in plain English, with few additional embellishments. Patrick’s *Aleppo* was structurally complex, providing a network of bibliographic authorities and combining historical narrative, classical and Arabic sources, travel writing and natural history.

Although this chapter has only touched the surface of the range and diversity of literary and bibliographic devices used to transform *Aleppo*¹ into the second edition, we can conclude that *Aleppo*² embodies a compendium of learning and authorities on the Levant. Whilst *Aleppo*¹ provided straightforward vignettes of mid-eighteenth-century Aleppine life, *Aleppo*² can be taken to represent the corpus of academic literature available to Oriental scholars by the end of the eighteenth century and thus is valuable as a bibliographic record in itself (in addition to the information it provided on Aleppo). In addition to those elements that made *Aleppo*¹ a success, Patrick’s learned references and use of classical quotation and Arabic terms established Patrick as an authoritative writer on the Levant. His literary and scientific reputation was enhanced by his superb studies of flora and fauna in India and his medical expertise on the Plague. In a symbiotic and dynamic relationship, the two

¹⁷⁶ Sections translated by Jean Sauvaget as *Les Perles Choisies’ d’Ibn Ach-Chihna* (Beirut: Mémoires de l’Institut Français de Damas, 1933).

¹⁷⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 42.

editions of *Aleppo* drew on wider literature but subsequently came to inform and shape it.

The following chapters will focus on the transformation of the first edition by the second in more detail on specific selected topics. The aim of Part III will be to locate and (dis)entangle the two editions, against the background of advances in medicine, natural science and ‘pleasures of the imagination’, as the eighteenth century progressed.

Part III Medicine, flora and fauna, and the ‘pleasures of the imagination’

Chapter 5

Towards ‘new medicine’

5.0 Introduction

The first case study in Part III will focus on selected medical topics in *Aleppo* as part of an investigation of the interrelationships between the two editions. Patrick acknowledged that as his brother had ‘bestowed more pains on the medical, than on the other parts of his work, little was left for the Editor.’¹ Nevertheless, this chapter will demonstrate how Patrick embellished and improved Alexander’s original text with additional scientific evidence as well as studying Arabic medical tracts. In so doing, the aim will be to assess the contributions the Russells made to the field and to consider why their readers might have been fascinated by their coverage of medical topics.

A general aim of this chapter will be to reveal the steady progress of and associated growth in medical professionalism during the Enlightenment — alongside a growing awareness of ‘new’ medicine in the Ottoman empire — as represented by the two editions of *Aleppo*, by the Russells’ own medical articles and Patrick’s *Treatise*. Medical traditions based on Boerhaave’s teaching in Leiden and medical practices in Edinburgh and London that moved forward from traditional Galenic humoral medicine would have influenced the direction and substance of the *Aleppo* texts and are discussed in the first section. Rather than include the complete range of medical topics addressed by the Russells, three epidemic diseases (*cutaneous leishmaniasis*,² smallpox³ and the plague⁴) each with a different research profile, will

¹ *Aleppo*², i, xv.

² Leishmaniasis: ‘tropical or subtropical disease caused by leishmania and transmitted by the bite of sandflies. It affects the skin or internal organs’ (ODE).

be selected in the second section to reflect varying degrees of cooperation between the two brothers and their relative influence on changing accepted practice. The third section continues to expand the subject of epidemic diseases, focusing briefly on the Russells' various contributions to the explanations of causes, including contagion.

5.1 From humoral to 'new' medicine

Various medical traditions informed medical practice across Europe and the Ottoman empire and these are variously to be discovered in the two texts. In order to understand the intellectual changes that the Russells had to face, this section will outline how the eighteenth century represented a transitional phase in the development of medicine from the humoral medicine of Galen and associated Arabic medical authorities to the 'new' medicine taught by Boerhaave and his pupils in Leiden and Edinburgh.

5.1.1 Traditional medicine

Traditional procedures and *materia medica* were used in Aleppo, but there was a slow but steady change in medicine, in Europe and then in the Ottoman empire. The emphasis was on clinical examination to identify the scientific study of the nature, origin, progress, and cause of disease. Physicians still focused on the needs of individual patients according to Galenic tradition, but they also studied illness from the perspective of the process of a disease: by investigating a patient's symptoms, mental state and environment. Aleppines believed that moderation and restoration of humoral balances through limited purging, vomiting and bloodletting were still critical to any successful treatment. Alexander discussed the dread of the lancet or caustic for bleeding by local people, and the lack of specialists,⁵ whilst Patrick pointed out that bleeding was 'tolerably dextrous' but carried out by illiterate, rash operators in Aleppo.⁶

³ Smallpox (Latin: *Variola major*; Arabic: جدرى *judarī*): 'an acute contagious disease, with fever and pustules that usually leave permanent scars, but was effectively eradicated through vaccination by 1979' (ODE).

⁴ The plague (Latin *pestis*; Arabic: طاعون *ṭāʿūn*): 'a contagious bacterial disease characterized by a fever and delirium, typically with the formation of buboes and sometimes infection of the lungs' (ODE); by extension, 'any contagious disease that spreads rapidly and kills many people' (ODE).

⁵ *Aleppo*¹, 249.

⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 140.

A useful overview of medical practice in Aleppo is available in *Aleppo observed*,⁷ with detail on European doctors in Ottoman Syria and local ‘physic’. Furthermore, the medical profession was sharply divided into three grades in Aleppo: physicians who bore the honorific title of gentlemen, *çelebi*,⁸ surgeons and apothecaries. Apothecaries, who might also be grocers or have some other occupation, prepared medicines for physicians but could also recommend or provide remedies directly to the sick, providing a service when physicians were not available. ‘*aṭṭārs* (herbalists, druggists and perfumists)⁹ and barbers provided some routine preventive medical care. Shaykhs, rabbis and holy men offered superstitious remedies, talismans and amulets and Şūfī groups offered some effective medico-religious treatments for insanity.¹⁰ Auto-medication and domestic medicine (*tibb baytī*) was in the hands of certain families who held the secrets of certain simple formulas.¹¹

Physicians attended to internal or systemic illness and surgeons coped with external complaints (fractures, wounds, abscesses, skin ailments) but they did not necessarily have any qualifying examination.¹² As Ullmann described, ‘According to Russell, medicine was not so much in the hands of the Turks as in those of the Christians and Jews. In order to practise, it was necessary to have a licence from the Hakeem Bashi,¹³ but this could be gained for financial consideration. The student received no systematic training either at the bedside or through study.’¹⁴ Patrick described local medical practitioners:

The practitioners of physic, at Aleppo, are numerous. The belief in predestination... not preventing the Mohammedans when sick from applying for medical assistance, their doctors are well received by the Grandees, and generally respected by the populace.’; but all prepare the medicines for their own patients, and keep shops at their house, or in some more convenient situation, to which the sick, or their attendants, repair at certain established hours. Numbers also resort thither not for medicines, but merely for advice which is dispensed gratis to all comers.¹⁵

⁷ *Aleppo observed*, 145–84.

⁸ Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 51.

⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, 134.

¹⁰ *Aleppo*², i, 211–3; ii, 84, 86.

¹¹ *Aleppo*², ii, 100–1.117–22.

¹² *Aleppo*², ii, 117–21.

¹³ Turkish, *hakīm bashi*: chief doctor, governor.

¹⁴ Ullmann, *Islamic medicine*, 49–50.

¹⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 122.

Yet there were some gentlemen-physicians of good breeding and ulama who trained the next generation.¹⁶

Physicians were frightened to take any risks, whilst surgeons were afraid of starting a haemorrhage if a knife was used and there was a danger that any surgeon would be subject to litigation so many cases were left to be treated by itinerant practitioners who had more courage and were likely to be less accountable.¹⁷ There was no mention of surgeons in *Aleppo*¹ but they were described by Patrick:

Though the physicians relinquish operations, with the treatment of tumors and ulcers, to the professed surgeons, all of them occasionally condescend to bleed particular patients: the rest are bled by the surgeons and barbers, both of whom profess Venesection,¹⁸ Cupping,¹⁹ and scarification.²⁰

Patrick went on to explain that before undertaking any dangerous case, the more prudent practitioners obtained a *hugget* (legal testimonial) from the *mahkamy* (law courts), which ensured a certain fee, 'and secures them from litigious persecution afterwards, whatever may be the events. An excellent study of Ottoman medicine²¹ has explained that legal disputes focused on damages rather than the principle of surgery itself.²² An examination of court records may provide relevant evidence. Once they obtained this protection, they would deal with 'the extirpation of wens,²³ and schirrous tumors,²⁴ and sometimes lithotomy,²⁵ as well as couching the cataract'. As a result of anxieties, Christian and Jewish local physicians preferred to practice physic. They left the manual operations to Muslim surgeons who, though not

¹⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 134. Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 141–2.

¹⁷ *Aleppo*², ii, 138. Apart from Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 252–76, which is based largely on *sharḥ*ah court records, there little yet published on legal aspects of medical treatment in the Ottoman empire.

¹⁸ Venesection: taking blood. Given in *Aleppo*², ii, 139 as 'Fsadey', فصادة.

¹⁹ Given in *Aleppo*², ii, 139 as 'Hidjamey'. 'Cupping glasses are also mentioned by 'Albucasis (*de Chirurgia*. 491) and the present practice remains nearly the same', i.e. John Channing, *Albucasis de chirurgia: Arabice et Latine (De chirurgia. Latin)* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1778), 491.

²⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 139. 'tishreet', تشريط. On the difficulty of removing leeches using forceps if they are inadvertently swallowed when drinking water (*Aleppo*², ii, 235).

²¹ Miri Shefer Mossensohn, *Ottoman medicine* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2009), a useful study on medical pluralism and social space.

²² Mossensohn, *Ottoman medicine*, 59.

²³ Wens: a benign encysted tumour of the skin, especially on the scalp, containing sebaceous matter; a sebaceous cyst.

²⁴ Scirrhus/scirrhous tumour: a tumour that is hard to the touch. Various tumours were discussed in detail with appropriate case studies, including the 'Aleppo boil' (*Aleppo*², 312–4) and the plague (*Aleppo*², 329, 351, 358–9, 370).

²⁵ Lithotomy: a surgical incision to remove calculi, kidney stones formed inside the urinary bladder. For the way it was performed by 'Turkish surgeons', see *Aleppo*², ii, 138.

exempt from *avaniyas*,²⁶ ‘are less subject to the overbearing insolence of [their fellow] Moslems, more especially of the soldiery, and of others most liable to such casualties as fall under the province of surgery’.²⁷ Surgeons were operating without anaesthetics and it was before the days of antibiotics.

In Europe scientific authority was beginning to replace religious authority and disciplines such as alchemy were being discredited. According to Alexander, medicine had stagnated in Aleppo in the eighteenth century and its physicians were totally ignorant about using chemistry in medicine but ‘some acquiring a smattering of alchemy to beggar his family by it’.²⁸ This mention of ‘chemistry’ was no doubt a reference to the work of Boerhaave and his followers.²⁹ Alexander was cynical about local application of classical texts: ‘they scruple not to quote the authority of Hippocrates, Galen and Ebensina in support of opinions the most ridiculous and absurd.’³⁰ Local physicians acquired their knowledge of anatomy by reading, not (unlike Alexander and his fellow students in Edinburgh) from dissection: ‘and both anatomy and physiology remain precisely in the state in which they were transmitted by Galen.’³¹

Patrick likewise observed that many Galenic traditions were not challenged by traditionally-minded physicians in Aleppo, yet there were important medieval developments that might well have altered perceptions there, as they did in Europe.³² Despite Harvey’s account of the circulation of blood in 1622,³³ Patrick found that in Aleppo, ‘their ignorance of the circulation of the blood, leaves them quietly in

²⁶ *Avania*; a term used by Europeans for a levy imposed by the Ottoman administration on Europeans in violation of the Capitulations agreements. Alastair Hamilton, ‘Introduction’, in Alastair Hamilton et al. (eds), *Friends and Rivals in the East* (Leiden: Brill, 2000), 8; Merlijn Olhon, ‘Towards classifying *avaniyas*’, in Alastair Hamilton et al. (eds), *Friends and Rivals*, 159–222.

²⁷ *Aleppo*², ii, 138.

²⁸ *Aleppo*¹, 98–99.

²⁹ Reference to ‘chemistry’ is not repeated in *Aleppo*², although Patrick mentions ‘chymical preparations’ (*Aleppo*², ii, 133–4).

³⁰ *Aleppo*¹, 99.

³¹ *Aleppo*², ii, 318.

³² *Aleppo*², ii, 143. Nancy G. Siraisi, *History, medicine, and the traditions of Renaissance learning* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2007), 246–9.

³³ William Harvey, *Guilielmi Harveii opera omnia* (London: G. Bowyer, 1766). *Aleppo*², ii, 142–3. Not mentioned in *Aleppo*¹. Joannes Jacobus Mannus was killed by Janissaries when *en route* from Cairo (where he practised for seven years) to Aleppo after being summoned there by the Venetian consul c.1581 (Prospero Alpini, *Historia Aegypti naturalis* (Leiden: Gerardum Potvliet, 1735), i, iii). Mannus succeeded Joannes Thomas Minadous (d.1615) as physician at Aleppo. Minadous was subsequently a professor at Padua who signed Harvey’s honorary diploma.

possession of the ancient doctrines, which were held sacred, before that important discovery.’³⁴ The poor state of medical knowledge in Aleppo was not just limited to local physicians.³⁵ Nevertheless, Patrick came across individual physicians who were ‘not only more learned, but in their practice sagacious, active, and rational ... There are others of an eccentric genius, who sometimes appear, and, striking out of the ordinary tract, distinguish themselves by a bolder mode of practice.’³⁶

5.1.2 Boerhaave’s ‘new’ medicine

Patrick built upon Alexander’s medical expertise, examining social contexts and noting signs, symptoms, progression, treatments and seeking potential explanations and cures in line with the ‘new’ medicine. The Russells’ interests were diverse and included surgery; population and mortality statistics; infectious diseases and epidemics; the effects of climate and famine, nutrition and hygiene on health and wellbeing; as well as indigenous scientific knowledge and medical practice. If we are to use modern medical terminology here to assess the range of their research in Aleppo, they treated almost every ailment they found there: from women’s medical conditions and maternal health including puberty,³⁷ attempts sometimes made by ‘Turkish’ women to acquire abortions,³⁸ childbirth³⁹ and suckling of infants,⁴⁰ paralysis,⁴¹ palsy, venereal diseases,⁴² Echinococcosis,⁴³ Emphysema,⁴⁴ mental

³⁴ *Aleppo*², ii, 132.

³⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 142–3.

³⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 134.

³⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 196.

³⁸ *Aleppo*², i, 194, 298–9, 394, 439–40. Cited by John Roberton, *Essays and notes on the physiology and diseases of women, and on practical midwifery* (London: John Churchill, 1851), 111.

³⁹ *Aleppo*², i, 300–4. *Aleppo observed*, 212, on childbirth; 214–6, on birth rates and abortion.

⁴⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 79, 83, 304.

⁴¹ Alexander, ‘Account of two Paralytic Cases’, *Medical Observations and Inquiries* 3 (1769), 146–51; summarised in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* 27 (1757), 397.

⁴² *Lues vener[e]a*. = Venereal disease, syphilis or an acute and chronic infectious disease. Alexander, ‘Experiments made with the decoction of Mexereon’, *Medical Observations and Inquiries* 3 (1769), 189–228; idem, ‘Case of Lúes Venera’, *Medical Observations and Inquiries* 2 (1766), 88. Andrew Mathias, *The mercurial disease* (London: Becket et al., 1811), 155–70. Local physicians were unaware of treatments using mercury (*Aleppo*², ii, 306) and Patrick cites John Hunter’s *Treatise on the Venereal Disease* (1786; London: G. Nicol and Mr. J. Johnson, 1788) (*Aleppo*², i, 439).

⁴³ Infection by the immature (larval) form of tapeworm, Echinococcus. Alexander Russell, ‘Of several hydatids discharged with the urine’ *Medical observations and inquiries* 3 (1767), 146.

⁴⁴ Alexander, ‘Case of almost universal Emphysema’, *Medical observations and inquiries* 3 (1769), 397–9 (397).

illness,⁴⁵ and so on. As well as population statistics, they provided notes on infant conditions⁴⁶ and their mortality.⁴⁷ Fevers, of great interest to eighteenth-century medical researchers, were considered to be diseases rather than a symptom. Patrick quoted the ‘ingenious’ Cleghorn’s *Epidemical diseases* on ‘Tertian fevers’ (48-hour periodicity, typical of malaria) as being ‘extremely correct’⁴⁸ and on the plague in Minorca.⁴⁹ Cullen compiled a classification system for ‘diseases’ but it is not clear if this was used by the Russells.⁵⁰ Whatever else, their range of expertise can be considered remarkable.

The Russells were taught medicine in Edinburgh by many lecturers who had been trained by Boerhaave and his colleagues in Leiden.⁵¹ Boerhaave is credited with founding ‘new medicine’, the modern system of teaching medical students by using experimental methods and advocating a clinical or ‘bedside’ manner rather than simply relying on classical textbooks. He systematized and rationalized practice of medicine. Boerhaave championed the methods advocated by the English physician, Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689) with its strong emphasis on observation, straightforward advice to patients, commitment to natural histories of disease, and opposition to speculation. Boerhaave strongly opposed the use of stimulants.⁵² Boerhaave’s simple and concise system of physic, which he outlined in *Aphorismi de cognoscendis*,⁵³ incorporated the best elements of Western medicine. Not only did he publish many medical tracts, but Boerhaave also published on botany, and edited reprints on plants by Prosper Alpini (1552–1617), Professor of medicine at Padua

⁴⁵ *Aleppo*², i, 211.

⁴⁶ Patrick Russell, ‘An account of two cases shewing the existence of the small pox and the measles in the same person at the same time and an account of a case of ague in a child in utero’, *Medical and chirurgical Transactions* 2 (1800), 90. Ague: Intermittent fever (*Rudy’s List of Archaic Medical Terms*, www.antiquusmorbus.com/Index.htm).

⁴⁷ *Aleppo*¹, 79, 83; *Aleppo*², i, 297, 301–2, 344; ii, 79, 83.

⁴⁸ *Aleppo*², ii, 129, 303. Cleghorn, *Epidemical diseases*, 149.

⁴⁹ Cleghorn, *Epidemical diseases*, 149, quoted in *Aleppo*², ii, 129.

⁵⁰ *Aleppo*¹, 99; c.20 references to the pulse in *Aleppo*².

⁵¹ Chapter 2, above.

⁵² *Aleppo*¹, 204.

⁵³ Herman Boerhaave, *Aphorismi de cognoscendis et curandis morbis in usum doctrinae domesticæ digesti*, (Leiden and Amsterdam, 1709); transl. *The aphorisms on the diagnosis and treatment of diseases* (London: B. Cowse & W. Innys, 1715).

and Director of its Botanical Garden.⁵⁴ By the late eighteenth century, it was evident that Boerhaave's 'new' medicine was being followed across Europe. There were increasingly strong associations between medicine, anatomy, chemistry and natural history in university courses there as medicine became more evidence-based.⁵⁵

Predisposed by new research by Boerhaave in chemistry and their interests in natural history, the Russells were instrumental, amongst other physicians, in introducing 'new' medicine into Aleppo but how much this influenced Ottoman medical practice is hard to assess. Like most physicians since Boerhaave they relied on changes in the pulse rate as the most important diagnostic element in fevers, a diagnosis inherited from Galen and Ibn Sīnā to discover humoral imbalances. In Aleppo, physicians would check the pulse 'with much affected attention' then artfully asked questions.⁵⁶ Alexander also used pulse diagnosis for rheumatism, pleurisy, the plague, fatal and continual fevers,⁵⁷ commenting that in Aleppo 'it is from the pulse alone that they pretend and are expected to discover all diseases and also pregnancy'.⁵⁸

An aspect of 'new' medicine was to explore local indigenous medical traditions and any medical lore available in other languages, including Arabic. The only Oriental authority cited by Alexander was Ibn Sīnā.⁵⁹ In contrast, unusually for an eighteenth-century Scottish physician, Patrick appreciated and could read Arabic medical manuscripts. Patrick noted that the Arabic edition of *al-Qānūn*, published in Rome in 1573 was 'far from scarce in Syria'.⁶⁰ Ibn Sīnā's monumental Persian text *al-Qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Lat. *Canon medicinae*, English, *The Canon of Medicine*), was

⁵⁴ Boerhaave was also interested in Arabic medical manuscripts. Patrick owned a biography of Boerhaave by William Burton (London: H. Lintot, 1743) and Boerhaave's treatises on the eye, and on nerves. Patrick cites Boerhaave's *Praelectiones academicae de lue venerea* (Leiden: Cornelium de Pecker, 1762) (*Aleppo*², i, 408). Boerhaave's works are listed in Atkinson, 'Medical bibliography', 282–90.

⁵⁵ Roy Porter, *Cambridge History of Science*, 71.

⁵⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 114–44, on local medical practice in Aleppo.

⁵⁷ Continual fever: that which never leaves the patient during the course of the disease. *Aleppo*¹, 196, 208, 213, 218, 230–1, 261.

⁵⁸ *Aleppo*¹, 99.

⁵⁹ *Aleppo*¹, 98–99; Ibn Sīnā, in *EAL* (1998), i, 373–5; *Eir*, vi, 66–220.

⁶⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, Appendix, xix.

probably translated into Latin by Gerrard de Sabloneta in the thirteenth century.⁶¹ Until about 1650, the *Canon* was a textbook used at Leiden and Montpellier. It is thought to be ‘the epitome of all precedent development, the final certification of all Graeco-Arabic medicine.’⁶² Patrick, who owned two copies of *Canon medicinae*, published in Venice in 1608,⁶³ used this treatise as an example of excellence when discussing weaknesses in the medical knowledge of Aleppine medical practitioners.⁶⁴ He supported his argument by referring to al-Qifṭī’s *Tārīkh al-ḥukamā’* (*The history of philosophers*),⁶⁵ which itself provided many anecdotes about medical practice.⁶⁶ Patrick also perused European catalogues such as those at the Escorial to discover more. As a result, Patrick included appendices on the main Arabic medical writers in *Aleppo*² ii.

Alexander owned a copy of the comic and entertaining allegorical story, *Risālat Da‘wat al-aṭibbā’* (1054), known as the *Banquet of physicians*, or *The physicians’ dinner party*, by Abū al-Ḥasan al-Mukhtār ibn ‘Abdūn Ibn Buṭlān (d.1066).⁶⁷ Composed in elegant and flowery Arabic, it was a witty autobiographical work written in an elegant style through which Ibn Buṭlān observed his own society. It would have resonated with Alexander’s experiences in Aleppo.⁶⁸ This Arabic manuscript was borrowed by William Jones in 1765, whilst he was still a student in Oxford.

Several leading medical authorities in London, including William Hunter and Richard Mead, were fascinated by Arabic medical tracts, as was Patrick. John Channing (d.1775) translated two medieval Arabic medical texts for William Hunter: al-Rāzī’s treatise *Kitāb fī al-judarī wa al-ḥaṣabah*, one of the earliest clinical

⁶¹ Ibn Sīnā, *Kutub al-qānūn fī al-ṭibb* (Rome: Medicea, 1593). Only parts of this have been translated into English: e.g. O. Cameron Gruner, *Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna, incorporating a translation of the first book* (London: Luzac, 1930).

⁶² Max Neuberger, *History of Medicine* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1910), i, 368–9.

⁶³ Squibb, *Catalogue*, 12: 171. *Aleppo observed*, 220.

⁶⁴ *Aleppo*², ii, 122.

⁶⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 409 and Appendix, xvii–xix, citing *History of philosophers*, 623. This account, by Ibn al-Qifṭī (1172/3–1248), was used by Abū al-Faraj and Casiri.

⁶⁶ *Aleppo*², i, 372–3. His work is outlined in *Aleppo*², ii, Appendix, xvii–xix.

⁶⁷ Ibn Buṭlān, *The physicians’ dinner party*, ed. and transl. Felix Klein-Franke (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985).

⁶⁸ Daniel Beaumont, ‘Hard-Boiled: narrative discourse in early Muslim traditions’, *Studia Islamica* 83 (1996), 5–31.

descriptions of smallpox and one of the first to differentiate it from measles;⁶⁹ and a surgical treatise, *Albucasis de chirurgia*,⁷⁰ which was part of the *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf* by al-Zahrāwī (Albucasis).⁷¹ Patrick owned a manuscript copy of the former treatise,⁷² and was able to verify the quality of the manuscript that Channing used;⁷³ whilst the scientist Sir William Watson (1715–1787) assisted Channing to find Arabic fonts with which to print the text.⁷⁴ Patrick's manuscript copy was bought in 1778 by his Scottish colleague, William Hunter.⁷⁵

The interchange of medical ideas was not all in one direction although this was not mentioned in *Aleppo*. There was an influx of well-trained Jewish physicians into Constantinople from the sixteenth-century onwards.⁷⁶ Many of them graduated from Padua and other European medical schools though they did not necessarily bring with them many of the new ideas that were circulating in Europe.⁷⁷ Several 'new medicine' texts, especially those by Boerhaave,⁷⁸ were translated for Ottoman physicians but it is not clear if they were read by them.⁷⁹ Perhaps as an attempt by the Ottoman ruling groups to break the 'monopoly of knowledge', Boerhaave's

⁶⁹ al-Rāzī, *A Treatise on smallpox and measles*, transl. William Alex Greenhill (London: Sydenham Society, 1848).

⁷⁰ Channing, *Albucasis de chirurgia*. Émilie Savage-Smith, 'John Channing', *Pharmacy in History* 30/2 (1988), 63–80, citing C. Helen Brock, 'What did Galen mean by anastomosis?' (unpublished), which showed Brock had identified the handwriting of Channing and Patrick.

⁷¹ *Aleppo*², ii, 137, Appendix, xi, xxix–xxx. Savage-Smith, 'al-Zahrāwī', *El*, 11: 398–99; D.M. Dunlop, 'Arabic medicine in England', *Journal of the History of Medicine* (1956), 166–82 (181); Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic medicine*, 61; Boogert, 'Patrick Russell', 253–8, 263–4. Correspondence between William Hunter and Patrick of Aleppo 'relating to Arabian writings' is to be found in the Hunter collection in Glasgow.

⁷² *Aleppo observed*, 220.

⁷³ *Aleppo*², ii, Appendix, xi. John Channing, *Rhazes de variolis et morbillis* (London: William Bowyer, 1766).

⁷⁴ Chapter 2, above, on the Siege of Warwick Lane.

⁷⁵ Glasgow University Library: GB 0247 MS Hunter 133 (T.6.15); Sp Coll Hunterian Ch.2.5. lot 1425 at the Baker & Leigh auction sale of Channing's own large collection after his death. Émilie Savage-Smith, 'Channing, John (c.1703–1775)', *ODNB*.

⁷⁶ Gul A. Russel, 'Physicians at the Ottoman court', *Medical History* 34 (1990), 243–67.

⁷⁷ Russel, 'Ottoman court', 256–9, 267.

⁷⁸ Gill Hull, 'The influence of Herman Boerhaave', *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 90 (1997), 512–4; Rina Knoeff, 'Hermann Boerhaave at Leiden', in Andrew Cunningham, Ole Peter Grell and Jon Arrizabalaga (eds), *Centres of medical excellence?* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 269–86.

⁷⁹ Feza Günergun, 'Ottoman encounters with European science', in Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds), *Cultural translation in early modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 192–211; idem, 'Science in the Ottoman world', in George Vlahakis et al. (eds), *Imperialism and science* (Oxford: ABC-CLIO, 2006), 71–118 (87–89).

Institutiones,⁸⁰ a physiology textbook, and his *Aphorisms*,⁸¹ were translated into Turkish at the command of Sultan Mustafa III (r.1757–1774), after a plague epidemic.⁸² By about 1768, they were translated or adapted by Abdülaziz Effendi Suphizāde who aimed to reconcile Boerhaave's concepts with traditional views.⁸³ Boerhaave's lifelong friend Albert Schultens claimed to have seen proof sheets of an Arabic translation in 1733 but Daniel, who searched for them for thirty years never found them.⁸⁴ Although typography was introduced into the Ottoman empire in the eighteenth century it is not certain whether these books were ever published.

Some studies on eighteenth-century medicine argue that the complexity of diseases faced by physicians was viewed with confusion.⁸⁵ In contrast, as demonstrated below, the Russells welcomed the challenge of complexity that faced them in Aleppo. They certainly covered an extraordinary range of elements: individual case studies, information about nutrition, multiple infections, childrearing, public health, mortality rates and exploration of many diseases, fevers and environments. Perhaps there is more to be learnt from *Aleppo* as scientists today adopt approaches that consider many variables.

5.2 Epidemic diseases: three different research paths

Rather than try to provide a comprehensive survey of medicine as covered in *Aleppo*, this section will concentrate on three infectious diseases. Various diseases were of particular concern to the Russells, especially the plague, its treatment and possible causes, and about quarantine for they were experts on the subject.⁸⁶ A discussion of epidemic diseases will be used in this chapter to explore how the brothers variously

⁸⁰ Herman Boerhaave, *Institutiones medicae* (Leiden: Johannem van der Linden, P. & F, 1708).

⁸¹ *Kitaab-i nekave fi terceme-i kelimât-i Boerhaave* (The finest pieces from the translation of the Aphorisms of Boerhaave). Unpublished. Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 209, discovered only three copies: in libraries in Istanbul.

⁸² Boerhaave translations into Turkish and Arabic may illuminate medical concepts in the Ottoman empire. C.E. Daniels. 'La version orientale, Arabe et Turque, des deux premiers livres de Herman Boerhaave', *Janus* 17 (1912), 295–312.

⁸³ Assisted by an Austrian interpreter, Thomas von Herbert (b.1730) (Ullmann, *Islamic Medicine*, 51).

⁸⁴ Albert Schultens, *Oratio academica in memoriam Hermanni Boerhaavii* (Leiden, 1738; London: A. Dodd, 1739); Gerrit Arie Lindeboom, *Herman Boerhaave* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1968), 360.

⁸⁵ Mary J. Dobson, 'Contours of death', *Health Transition Review* 2 (1992), 77–94.

⁸⁶ Janet Starkey, "'The Contagion followed, and vanquish'd them '", in Diane Fortenberry and Deborah Manley (eds), *Saddling the Dogs* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2007), 113–28. *Aleppo observed*, chapter 5.

cooperated in this field of medicine and how Patrick built upon Alexander's earlier expertise.

These selected topics will reflect how Alexander's commendable research and medical observations were refined by Patrick, with further medical and social studies and relevant bibliographic authorities. The first topic, on *cutaneous leishmaniasis* will demonstrate that Patrick embellished and improved Alexander's original text with additional scientific evidence. The second topic will show how the brothers cooperated on an article about variolation⁸⁷ as protection against smallpox. The third topic will recognize that the Russell brothers became famous for their studies on the plague⁸⁸ — but Patrick became the acknowledged expert. Finally, there will be a section on the gradual recognition of contagion as a cause of disease.⁸⁹

It will be useful to locate *Aleppo* within literature on epidemics in the Middle East. There have been a few recent studies on the effects of epidemics there apart from Jean-Noel Biraben's *Les Hommes et la peste en France* (1975),⁹⁰ Lawrence Conrad's work on early Islamic epidemics,⁹¹ Michael Dols' study of 1977 in which he focused on the social and economic conditions of the Black Death,⁹² and Daniel Panzac's demographic study of epidemics and public health in the Ottoman empire in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁹³ In *Eve of modernity*, Marcus included a chapter on medicine,⁹⁴ in which he emphasized the impact of diseases and resulting high mortality rates on Aleppo's population, economy and emotional

⁸⁷ In the eighteenth century, 'variola', the cutaneous inoculation of material from smallpox pustules, was called smallpox inoculation, insertion, engrafting or transplantation.

⁸⁸ *Aleppo*², ii, 336–8. White, 'Rethinking disease', points out that terms such as 'the plague', *la peste* and *ṭā'ūn*, are flexible and do not necessarily always refer to *Yersinia pestis*.

⁸⁹ For more detailed studies on the Russells and the plague: Starkey, 'The contagion followed', 113–28; *Aleppo observed*, 164–78.

⁹⁰ Jean-Noel Biraben, *Les Hommes et la peste en France et dans les pays européens et méditerranéens* (Paris: Mouton, 1975).

⁹¹ Lawrence Conrad, 'Epidemic disease in formal and popular thought in early Islamic Society', in *Epidemics and ideas*, eds Terence Ranger & Paul Slack (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 77–100.

⁹² Michael Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977);

⁹³ D. Panzac, *La Peste dans l'Empire ottoman, 1700–1850* (Leyden: Peeters, 1985); Michael W. Dols, 'The second plague epidemic and its recurrences in the Middle East 1347–1894', *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 22 (1979), 162–89.

⁹⁴ Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 252–76.

texture.⁹⁵ Marcus, citing Dols⁹⁶ and Panzac,⁹⁷ described health and medical care, bathhouses and water supplies, the impact of death and the plague on its inhabitants.

In a useful paper, Sam White used *Aleppo*² and other original sources to revise the usual paradigm of disease in Ottoman history between 1500 and 1800, by applying an interdisciplinary approach and insights from environmental history.⁹⁸ White suggested that it is time to revise the usual paradigm of disease during the Ottoman empire by using a more interdisciplinary approach and recent insights from environmental history. Dols⁹⁹ and Panzac,¹⁰⁰ considered that there was a steady mortality rate as a result of inevitable cycles of the disease.¹⁰¹ Panzac claimed that the plague kills between 60% and 90% of those who become ill. He noted that forty-nine years were affected by the plague in Syria from the middle of the seventeenth century.¹⁰² In the 1970s such Ottoman medical history studies skewed the focus overwhelmingly towards the pneumonic and bubonic plague but any interpretation of normal patterns of health and stability would be impossible under plague conditions. Furthermore, plague epidemics were only part of the complex environments of diseases and these have not yet been fully explored.

Although most modern medical studies on the eighteenth-century Ottoman empire have focused on the plague, there were many different infections that had impact on Ottoman history and these fascinated physicians in the eighteenth century. Apart from the plague, these infections remain largely ignored by modern Western scholars as White, citing *Aleppo*², pointed out.¹⁰³ Yet the Russells were treating and studying a wide range of conditions and diseases in Aleppo: 'the common epidemic

⁹⁵ André Raymond, 'The population of Aleppo in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries according to Ottoman census documents', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16 (1984), 447–60.

⁹⁶ Dols, *Black Death*.

⁹⁷ Panzac, *La Peste*.

⁹⁸ Sam White, 'Rethinking Disease in Ottoman History', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 42 (2010) 549–67 (552), provides a useful list of recent studies on epidemics in the Ottoman empire. Other useful studies include Peter Christensen, *The Decline of Iranshahr* (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 1993) and Stuart Borsch, *The Black Death in Egypt and England* (Austin, Tex.: University of Texas Press, 2005), on environmental contexts of the plague.

⁹⁹ Dols, *Black Death*.

¹⁰⁰ Panzac, *La Peste*.

¹⁰¹ White, 'Rethinking disease', 549.

¹⁰² Panzac, *La Peste*, 11–13, 30–34. Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, 256, claimed in 1787 that twenty-five years had elapsed since the plague had been known in Syria.

¹⁰³ White, 'Rethinking disease', 557.

diseases at Aleppo are Continual, Intermittent, Remittent fevers' (such as malaria),¹⁰⁴ 'Malignant Remittents' (typhoid),¹⁰⁵ and 'regular and anomalous Erratic fevers to which children are liable',¹⁰⁶ Diarrhoea, Dysentery, Pleurisy, Peripneumony' (respiratory diseases and pneumonia), 'Quinsy' (Peritonsillar abscess), 'Rheumatism'¹⁰⁷ and Ophthalmia,¹⁰⁸ common in Aleppo, which all return as regularly as the seasons',¹⁰⁹ as well as the plague — and smallpox which was 'sometimes very fatal',¹¹⁰ cholera and other endemic diseases,¹¹¹ many that targeted children, including measles, Chincough (whooping cough), Putrid Fevers, Petechial,¹¹² and Scarlet Fevers.

Attitudes to illnesses were less specialized and more widely focused before the scientific specializations of nineteenth century onwards; enthusiasm among the best of the 'new' medical practitioners such as the Russells to explore new and original material was immense. Like many eighteenth-century physicians, the Russells made records of epidemics between 1742 and 1753,¹¹³ to identify specific distribution patterns along with possible causes, treatment and potential cures.¹¹⁴ In line with Enlightenment practice, the Russells provided a meticulous catalogue of all these fevers, gastrointestinal and pulmonary infections and other illnesses as they occurred between 1742 and 1753, on a month-by-month basis,¹¹⁵

¹⁰⁴ In the eighteenth century fevers were divided into continual, remitting, and intermitting, and those with cutaneous eruption or topical inflammation, such as smallpox (*Rudy's List*).

¹⁰⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 300.

¹⁰⁶ SP 110/74. In a letter to a patient in Cyprus, Patrick recommended cold baths be taken in the cool of the morning, 11 October 1760 (Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, 145).

¹⁰⁷ Alexander's work is cited by Henry William Fuller, *On rheumatism, rheumatic gout, and sciatica* (London: J. Churchill, 1860), 419.

¹⁰⁸ *Aleppo*², ii, 299, 322. A study of optics by Roger Bacon (d.1294) drew upon the works of early Muslim polymaths, such as the physician Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq al-Kindī (c.801–873) — sources also discussed by Patrick. On ophthalmia, see *Aleppo*², ii, 299–300. On al-Kindī, see *Aleppo*², ii, Appendix, ix.

¹⁰⁹ Boott, *Life and medical opinions of John Armstrong*, i, 114. John Armstrong MD (1784–1829); not the John Armstrong (1708–1779) who reviewed *Aleppo*¹.

¹¹⁰ Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, i, 362.

¹¹¹ Davis, *Devonshire Square*, 75.

¹¹² A malignant fever, accompanied with livid spots on the skin.

¹¹³ *Aleppo*², i, 298–333, 344–5.

¹¹⁴ *Aleppo*², ii, 123, 125, 129, 301–2.

¹¹⁵ 'Of the Epidemical Diseases, from the beginning of 1742 to the end of 1747, and of the Years 1752 and 1753' (*Aleppo*¹, 190–223); Books V and VI (*Aleppo*², ii, 273–388).

5.2.1 Embellishing Alexander's research: *cutaneous leishmaniasis*

This subsection will demonstrate how Patrick supported research undertaken by Alexander and will ascertain that they both experimented with possible treatments. Alexander provided a chapter about *Mal d'Aleppo*, now termed *cutaneous leishmaniasis*,¹¹⁶ which was paraphrased in Johnson's long review.¹¹⁷ Patrick's revisions included more on signs, symptoms, and possible treatment than other contemporary medical studies and reflect Patrick's continuing interest in fevers.¹¹⁸ Like Alexander,¹¹⁹ Patrick included local distribution and explanations for the disease.

Eruption... is named by the Natives Hebt al Sinne*, or Botch of a year; but by the Europeans and Turks, as if it were peculiar to that place, Il Mai d'Aleppo, the Aleppo Evil, and Haleb Chiban³, the Aleppo Ulcer. It is not however confined to that city; being common almost in the same degree at Aintab, and the villages situated on the banks of the rivers Sejour and Kowick: whence the vulgar opinion of its being produced by the water.¹²⁰

* *Heb al Sinne* حبه السنه [sic]

³ *Haleb Chibani* حلب چباني

These local terms were previously identified by Alexander but he did not give them in Arabic script, possibly because relative fonts were not available.

Although the Russells' identification of *Mal d'Aleppo* was not new, one can argue that they improved medical knowledge. Although Alexander has been credited with the first clinical account in English of *cutaneous leishmaniasis*, an earlier description of this exotic disease was given by Richard Pococke in 1745, a detail that Alexander did not acknowledge.¹²¹ Nor did Patrick refer to the various Arab physicians, such as al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā, who described 'Aleppan boils'; nor that Volney described them as endemic in the region.¹²² However, after an examination of a Turkish patient,¹²³ Patrick provided one of the earliest detailed clinical

¹¹⁶ *Aleppo*¹, 262–5, *Aleppo*², ii, 307–14. Gelpi, 'Aleppo ulcer'.

¹¹⁷ *Aleppo*¹, 262–5. Johnson, *Literary Magazine* (1756), 80–86.

¹¹⁸ *Aleppo*², ii, 306.

¹¹⁹ *Aleppo*¹, 262.

¹²⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 308.

¹²¹ Pococke. *Description of the East*, ii, 26–28; Hasselquist, *Voyages and travels*, 391.

¹²² Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, i, 231.

¹²³ Gelpi, 'Aleppo ulcer'; *Aleppo observed*, 155.

descriptions in English.¹²⁴ Aleppines thought it was caused by a mosquito with 100 spiky legs, probably a centipede.¹²⁵ These chronic sores, which heal slowly, are now known to be caused by an infection by parasitic flagellates of the genus *Leishmania* and are transmitted via species of sand-flies (*Phlebotomus*) from animal reservoirs, especially rodents and canines, but this explanation was not available to the Russells.¹²⁶

The progress of this transition from traditional to ‘new’ medicine in the second half of the eighteenth century was reflected in Patrick’s comments on treatments recommended by Alexander. The Russells suggested the best treatment for *Cutaneous leishmaniasis* was the external application of a mercurial plaster,¹²⁷ as might Red Precipitate,¹²⁸ although most patients preferred local remedies. Patrick recounted that local physicians had many different treatments for the condition, but knew nothing about ‘modern discoveries’ for a range of illnesses, such as ‘the use of mercury, ipecacuanha, the Peruvian bark, or the preparations of antimony’.¹²⁹ Patrick even included a full discussion of misdirected treatment he observed in the Pasha’s household where he had recommended treatment for a tumour caused by *cutaneous leishmaniasis*, by washing it with milk and water, administering mercury and waiting. Local physicians, who misdiagnosed the condition, applied different painful caustic remedies such as alum, verdigris, and caustic soda, to remove any

¹²⁴ *Aleppo*², ii, 263, quoted on the WHO website, www.who.int/leishmaniasis/en/ (20 August 2010). Cf. WHO reports, including ‘Control of the leishmaniasis, Report of a WHO Expert committee. Technical Report Series, 793 (Geneva: WHO, 1990); P. Desjeux. *The Leishmaniasis Report of meeting of interested parties on management and financing of the control of tropical diseases other than malaria* (Geneva: WHO, 1993), 1–6.

¹²⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 309; *Aleppo*², ii, 309.

¹²⁶ Oumeish Youssef Oumeish, ‘Cutaneous leishmaniasis: a historical perspective’, *Clinics in Dermatology* 17/3 (1999), 249–54.

¹²⁷ *Aleppo*¹, 262–5; *Aleppo*², ii, 311–4. Mercurial plaster (*Emplastrum Hydrargyri*) made of olive oil, resin, quicksilver and oxide of lead (John Murray, *A system of materia medica and pharmacy* (Edinburgh: W. Laing et al., 1810), ii, 412–13. Whilst the Russells recommended using mercury to treat *Mal d’Aleppo* and venereal diseases only, Charles Maclean, *A Treatise on the Action of Mercury upon Living Bodies, and its application for the cure of diseases of indirect debility* (Calcutta: Thomson and Ferris, 1797) used mercury as a catch-all cure for epidemic diseases, even for exhaustion. Charles F. Mullett, ‘Politics, Economics and Medicine: Charles Maclean and Anticontagion in England’, *Osiris* 10 (1952), 224–251 (227).

¹²⁸ ‘Mercuric oxide (HgO), a heavy red crystalline powder obtained by heating mercuric nitrate, or by heating mercury in the air’ (Online Dictionary). Now classified as ‘very toxic’ and banned as a pesticide as ‘dangerous for the environment’ by the EU.

¹²⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, 132. Antimony: Arabic: *ithmīd*.

encrustations and to extirpate the roots of the tumour.¹³⁰ Patrick suggested that the best treatment was to leave well alone as infections usually heal spontaneously: he has since been proved correct as this is the modern therapy for *cutaneous leishmaniasis*, though other treatments are available.¹³¹ There is still scientific research being carried out on the disease.¹³²

5.2.2 Co-operation: variolation and prevention of smallpox

In this second example, the topic of variolation will be used to outline the Russells' contribution to the eradication of smallpox; partly because their contribution has hitherto been largely unrecognized and because it will illustrate co-operation between them. Thomas Sydenham, whose ideas were taken up by Boerhaave and profoundly influenced medical teaching at Edinburgh, argued that each epidemic disease had its own atmospheric environment. Close observation of epidemic diseases was a procedure encouraged by Sydenham,¹³³ who attributed the spread of illness to pollution of the air. Alexander's only observation about smallpox in *Aleppo*¹ was to note that in 1745 he successfully promoted Sydenham's methods and, as a result, very few died of smallpox.¹³⁴ Patrick subsequently supported Sydenham's methodology and described the treatment of smallpox and variolation in great detail.¹³⁵ Patrick variolated patients in Aleppo himself: 'The child of a Bashaw here, was by my advice inoculated about eight years ago: but that is the only instance I have known among the Turks at Aleppo.'¹³⁶ Information on smallpox in Aleppo and its varying severity are given for 1743, 1745–1746, 1750–1751: generally mild in

¹³⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 306–14.

¹³¹ J. Blum et al., 'Treatment of cutaneous leishmaniasis among travellers', *Journal of Antimicrobial Chemotherapy* 53/2 (2004), 158–66.

¹³² E.g. L. Jalouk et al., 'Insecticide-treated bednets to prevent anthroponotic *cutaneous leishmaniasis* in Aleppo Governorate, Syria: results from two trials', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene* 101/4 (2007), 360–7.

¹³³ *Aleppo*¹, 211 cited his 1670 edition, possibly Thomas Sydenham; *Observationes medicae circa morborum acutorum historiam et curationem* (London: Gualteri Kettilby, 1676), which contained a section on the plague.

¹³⁴ *Aleppo*¹, 204; *Aleppo*², ii, 325. Anyone who contracted smallpox was banned from the *bagnio* for forty days (*Aleppo*², ii, 321).

¹³⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 317–318.

¹³⁶ Russell, 'Inoculation in Arabia', 146.

September progressing to severe in October; growing mild in January and disappearing in February.¹³⁷

The Russells were part of a handful of experts on variolation, many of whom are now scarcely recognized. Yet Alexander scarcely mentions variolation:

Just before my leaving Aleppo, I did hear that it was practised amongst some of the Bedouins there, and went by the name of buying the small-pox;¹³⁸ but being then much engaged with other business, it quite escaped my memory, and, indeed my information was so slight, that I did not think it right to mention it in my *Natural History of Aleppo*.¹³⁹

Apart from Lady Mary's efforts to introduce variolation to England, other authorities were sidelined in the debates that ensued there.¹⁴⁰ Smallpox had 30% mortality rate in the Ottoman empire and Europe; where most people contracted the disease before they were of reproductive age.¹⁴¹ Disfigured herself by smallpox in 1715, Lady Mary first observed the variolation of children with the smallpox virus in Adrianople in 1718 and immediately arranged to have her six-year-old son, Edward, 'engrafted' at Pera by Charles Maitland, a Scottish surgeon in Constantinople.¹⁴² With Maitland, she then introduced variolation to England.¹⁴³ Her English supporters included the president of the Royal Society, Sir Hans Sloane.¹⁴⁴ In 1721 Sloane was advised by Edward Tarry, a physician who practised medicine in Aleppo and Constantinople who witnessed a major outbreak of smallpox in 1706, and claimed to

¹³⁷ *Aleppo*², ii, 318, 321.

¹³⁸ 'Buying the smallpox': a cloth was tied round the arm of a newly-infected child. A mother would then haggle over the cost of each pustule or bring gifts, return home and tie the cloth around her own child's arm. A second method was called 'hitting the smallpox', used in Turkey, by which fluid from a smallpox pustule was collected and rubbed into a cut made into the patient's skin.

¹³⁹ Russell, 'Inoculation in Arabia', 140.

¹⁴⁰ Robert Halsband, 'New light on Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's contribution to inoculation', *Journal of the History of Medicine* (1953), 390–405.

¹⁴¹ <http://zeitlerweb.com/about-2/immunity-to-bubonic-plague-and-hiv/> (29.05.2012).

¹⁴² Maitland was employed as personal physician to the Wortley Montagu family (Laidlaw, *British in the Levant*, 121).

¹⁴³ Montagu (1717). To Mrs. S. C. — [Miss Sarah Chiswell]. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu and Lady Louisa Stuart, *The letters and works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, (ed.) William Moy Thomas (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1861). William Wagstaffe, *A Letter to Dr Freind* (London: Butler, 1722). Isobel Grundy, *Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 209–22. Samantha Fenno, "'An Experiment practiced only by a few Ignorant Women,'" Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the Small Pox Inoculation and the Concept of Enlightenment', in L. Rosenthal and M. Choudhury (eds), *Monstrous Dreams of Reason* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2002), 85–114.

¹⁴⁴ Sir Hans Sloane, 'An Account of Inoculation' (communicated 1736), *Philosophical Transactions* 69 (1755–1756), 516–20.

have seen 4,000 people variolated in Turkey. Just before he left Aleppo, Tarry was informed by the Greek Patriarch that Bedouin used variolation.¹⁴⁵

Whilst Lady Mary held the limelight in the debate about variolation, other physicians presented papers at the Royal Society so their work would have been known to the Russells. Emmanuel Timoni (1669–1718)¹⁴⁶ claimed variolation was introduced into Constantinople around 1672 from Circassia and Georgia.¹⁴⁷ A four-page summary was largely dismissed as ‘good for a pleasant little shiver of curiosity at the bizarre and backward practices of the East, but no more.’¹⁴⁸ Jacob(us) Pylarini’s paper was read to the Royal Society in 1716 but was largely dismissed as an old ‘wives-tale’,¹⁴⁹ whilst Peter Kennedy, a Scottish ophthalmic surgeon in London, published his observations in Constantinople in 1715.¹⁵⁰ Matthew Maty published memoirs of a Dutch pastor, M. Chais¹⁵¹ who explained that Cassem Algiada Aga, FRS, an ambassador for Tripoli in London, confirmed to Chais that variolation against smallpox was common practice in Tripoli, Tunis and Algiers in the 1740s.¹⁵² Maty, an enthusiast for variolation, campaigned vigorously and

¹⁴⁵ Christopher Booth, ‘The Conquest of Smallpox’, *Quarterly Journal of Medicine* 57/224 (1985), 811–23 (812); Abbas M. Behbehani, *The smallpox story* (Kansas: University of Kansas Medical Center, 1988), 11; idem, ‘The Smallpox story: life and death of an old disease’, *Microbiological Reviews* 47/4 (1983), 455–509 (460), notes that in Aleppo the French consul’s four children were successfully inoculated in 1713.

¹⁴⁶ Emanuele Timoni, MD, ‘An account or history of the procuring the smallpox by incision, or inoculation, as it has for some time been practiced at Constantinople’. *Philosophical Transactions* 29 (1714–1716), 72–82.

¹⁴⁷ W. Woodville, *The History of the inoculation of the Small-Pox in Great Britain* (London: Phillips, 1796).

¹⁴⁸ Timoni, ‘Procuring the smallpox by incision’.

¹⁴⁹ Jacobus Pylarinus, *Nova et tuta variolas excitandi per transplantationem methodus* (Venice, [s.n.], 1715); Pylarinus, a Greek physician and Venetian Consul at Smyrna; served as physician to Russian Tsar Peter the Great (1625–1725); Emmanuel Timoni, *Some account of what is said of Inoculation or transplanting the Small Pox* (Boston: Dr Zabdiel Boylston, 1721). E. Poulakou-Rebelakou and J. Lascaratos, ‘Emmanuel Timonis, Jacobus Pylarinus and inoculation’, *Journal of Medical Biography* 11/3 (2003), 181–2.

¹⁵⁰ Peter Kennedy, *An Essay on External Remedies* (London: A. Bell, 1715).

¹⁵¹ Matthew Maty, ‘A short account of the Manner of inoculating the Small Pox, on the Coast of Barbary, and at Bengal, in the East Indies, extracted from a Memoir written in Dutch by the Rev. M. Chais, at the Hague’, *Philosophical Transactions* 58 (1768), 128–31.

¹⁵² Royal Society, *Arabick Roots*, 58. Matthew Maty, ‘A Paper relating to the Inoculation of the Small-Pox as it is practised in the Kingdoms of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algier’, in J.G.Scheuchzer, *An account of the success of inoculating the small-pox in Great Britain, for the years 1727 and 1728* (London: J. Peele, 1729), 61–63.

published correspondence with Sir James Porter.¹⁵³ Patrick did not mention Shaw's comments on inoculation in North Africa;¹⁵⁴ or those of Aubrey de la Motraye on variolation in Circassia, as cited by Voltaire.¹⁵⁵ Even as late as 1781 there were those in Europe who doubted variolation existed in the Ottoman empire.¹⁵⁶

What the Russells found particularly strange was that, despite all the publicity about the practice in Constantinople obtained in Europe after 1721, the tradition in Syria remained unknown. Subsequently, the Russells wrote a joint paper, published as two letters, 'An account of inoculation in Arabia',¹⁵⁷ the first dated 18 April 1768 by Alexander from his house in London and the second from Patrick in Aleppo. These are cited in *Aleppo*.¹⁵⁸ Their aim was to remove any prejudices against variolation that might still exist in Europe, and because they thought that the contents might be a matter of curiosity to members of the Royal Society, they produced evidence that appears to have been compelling.

What is fascinating was the innovative research methodology used by the Russells in 1768 for it included investigations of local indigenous knowledge, using informants to corroborate their findings. In his article of 1768, Alexander explained that he had witnessed the practice of variolation among the Bedouin before he left Aleppo in 1753.¹⁵⁹ Alexander thought that variolation was only practised by Christians: something that Patrick at first confirmed.¹⁶⁰ However, Patrick altered his opinion in 1757, when he questioned several Turkish merchants from Baghdad and Mosul, who periodically visited Aleppo, who assured him that variolation was practised in both cities. In Mosul when an epidemic arrived, a public crier would urge the people to have their children inoculated. Patrick discovered variolation in

¹⁵³ Matthew Maty, 'Queries Sent to a Friend in Constantinople; By Dr Maty, FRS; and Answered by His Excellency James Porter, Esq', *Philosophical Transactions* 49 (1755–1756), 96–109.

¹⁵⁴ Shaw, *Travels, or observations*, 265.

¹⁵⁵ Yet there are references on other subjects to Aubrey de la Motraye (Aubry de la Mo(n)(t)traye) (*Aleppo*², i, 214, 333–4). *Voyage de Sr A. de La Motraye, en Europe, Asie et Afrique* (London: the author, 1723) cited by Voltaire, 'Letter 11: On Inoculation with Smallpox', *Letters on England* (1733; London: Penguin, 1980).

¹⁵⁶ W. Black, *Observations Medical and Political, on the Small-pox* (London: Johnson, 1781).

¹⁵⁷ Patrick and Alexander Russell, 'Inoculation in Arabia', 140 (*Aleppo*², ii, 317).

¹⁵⁸ Patrick's letter of 1768 was reprinted in *The Critical Review* 28 (1769), 85–90.

¹⁵⁹ Russell, 'Inoculation in Arabia'.

¹⁶⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 317.

Basrah, along the Euphrates and Tigris below Baghdad and in the desert.¹⁶¹ In 1768 Patrick reinforced Alexander's initial observations: for he discovered variolation was practised among Georgians, Armenians, Turkoman,¹⁶² Bedouin,¹⁶³ Druse, and Kurds; in Lebanon,¹⁶⁴ Damascus, Mecca and along the coast of Syria and Palestine,¹⁶⁵ but recorded that even though smallpox 'prevailed to a remarkable degree among the Jews', they 'absolutely reject inoculation'.¹⁶⁶

Patrick had an indirect influence on later advances. Two years after *Aleppo*² was published, the Gloucestershire physician, Edward Jenner (1749–1823), carried out his famous experiment using cowpox pus.¹⁶⁷ John Barker, consul in Aleppo (in Aleppo from 1799 to 1826), introduced vaccination into Syria in 1803. In Britain the Vaccination Act (1840) banned variolation. Smallpox was eradicated by 1978.

5.2.3 Developing Alexander's research on the plague

The third case study focuses on the Russells' considerable contribution to study of the plague.¹⁶⁸ During the eighteenth century there were many reports of epidemics of the plague that reflected a growing interest in the plague.¹⁶⁹ It is not surprising to discover that, in Patrick's library of over 900 items which were listed in the Squibb's *Catalogue*, approximately 35% of the books are medical authorities on the plague. The earliest in Patrick's collection was by Giovanni Battista, an Augustinian friar and head of Naples public health board.¹⁷⁰ The most recent was by Assalini of

¹⁶¹ Russell, 'Inoculation in Arabia'.

¹⁶² Russell, 'Inoculation in Arabia'.

¹⁶³ *Aleppo*², ii, 317; Russell, 'Inoculation in Arabia'.

¹⁶⁴ Defined as Kurds in *Aleppo*², ii, 374.

¹⁶⁵ Russell 'Inoculation in Arabia', 140.

¹⁶⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 317.

¹⁶⁷ Edward Jenner, *An inquiry into the causes and effects of the variolae vaccinae* (London: Sampson Low: and sold by Law, 1798).

¹⁶⁸ Hawgood, 'Alexander Russell', 1–6; Starkey, 'The contagion followed'.

¹⁶⁹ According to the *Critical Review* (1791), 1, it was regrettable that Patrick overlooked Adam Chenot, *Tractatus de peste* (Vienna: Jo. Thom. nob. de Trattner, 1766).

¹⁷⁰ Giovanni Battista, da Napoli, *Opera et trattato che insegna molti dignissimi secreti contra peste con li quali subito se guarise* (Venice: Bernardinum de Vitalibus Venetum, 1527). Samuel Kline Cohn challenges the idea that medieval European medical attitudes to the plague were in 'a timeless Galenic vacuum' (*Cultures of plague* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 16, 97).

Modena, who accompanied Napoleon's Syrian expedition in 1799 as far as Jaffa.¹⁷¹ Appropriately, he even owned a 1679 edition of Boccaccio's *Decameron*.¹⁷²

Some say that [the plague] descended upon the human race through the influence of the heavenly bodies, others that it was a punishment signifying God's righteous anger at our iniquitous way of life. But whatever its cause, it had originated some years earlier in the East, where it had claimed countless lives before it unhappily spread westward, growing in strength as it swept relentlessly on from one place to the next.¹⁷³

However it is not always clear whether all these studies were on the bubonic plague: like the term 'fever', the term 'plague' included a variety of diseases with some common characteristics.

In the mid-eighteenth century, despite the accumulation of much information about the plague, there was much speculation on the treatment, distribution and causes of the plague. It was only in 1894 that Kitasato identified *bacillus pestis* that causes the specific infectious fever known as the plague.¹⁷⁴ First, Pneumonic plague is an infection of the lungs; secondly, bubonic plague is an infection of the lymph nodes; thirdly, septicemic plague is due to an infection in the blood stream. Secondary pneumonic plague is caused when septicemic plague is transferred from the bloodstream into lung tissue. It is now recognized that one virulent form of the plague, primary pneumonic plague, which has a high fatality rate, is transmitted by inhalation of fine infective droplets can be transmitted from person to person without the involvement of insect vectors including human fleas, *Pulex irritans*, and did not involve rats as intermediate hosts.¹⁷⁵

Although the Russells had no knowledge of later scientific developments, they were experts on the possible causes of the plague and had witnessed many epidemics first hand; they provided information on its morbid anatomy and prescribed treatments for those infected. Alexander included a whole chapter (V) on the plague and discussed its appearance, symptoms, relapses, treatments and different opinions

¹⁷¹ Paolo Assalini, *Observations on the disease called the plague, the dysentery, the ophthalmy of Egypt, and on the means of prevention*, transl. Adam Neale (London: J. Mawman, 1804).

¹⁷² Irwin, *For lust of knowing*, 42–43 notes that Muslims feature in some of these stories.

¹⁷³ This quote is taken from *The Decameron* (London: Penguin, 1995). by Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375).

¹⁷⁴ www.1911encyclopedia.org/Plague (26 November 2006).

¹⁷⁵ In other epidemics of the plague the most important arthropod vector was *Xenopsylla cheopis*, and it was transmitted from rats (*Rattus rattus*) to humans (Lars Walløe, 'Medieval and Modern Bubonic Plague', *Medical History Supplement* 27 (2008), 59–73).

on the ‘method of cure’, where it came from and its progress as well as ‘Rules to be observed by those who are among the infected’, ‘Methods used by the Europeans for their preservation from it’: including the ‘Manner of shutting up’ and ‘Precautions after it’.¹⁷⁶ Whilst Alexander was working in Aleppo he kept records of plague victims that were later published by Patrick.¹⁷⁷ Patrick provided Book VI on the plague in *Aleppo*², ii and elaborated many of the same themes as Alexander. In addition, Patrick cites travellers writing about the plague including Maundrell and d’Arvieux.

In addition, in his remarkable and now rare *Treatise* (1791) cited in and overlapping with *Aleppo*²,¹⁷⁸ Patrick explored topics initiated by Alexander in the first edition of *Aleppo*. As a critic in *The Monthly Review* commented, the chapter on the plague in *Aleppo*² ‘appears to contain nothing which has not been introduced in the editor’s late elaborate work on that disease’.¹⁷⁹ It is therefore relevant to treat the *Treatise* either as a preparatory study for sections of *Aleppo*² on the same subject or, alternatively, that the sections on the plague in *Aleppo*² are little more than a précis of the *Treatise* itself. The *Treatise* was based on his observations in Aleppo between 1760 and 1762.¹⁸⁰ Considered ‘the finest volume on the plague’¹⁸¹ that afforded ‘the latest experience the best and most rational assistance’,¹⁸² the *Treatise* contained an historical account of the plague and its fluctuating nature, epidemiological observations, and about possible causes including the idea of contagion. It outlined quarantine measures that could be taken to protect people from the plague, quarantine, *lazarettos* and the administration of the police in times of pestilence.¹⁸³

Issues of public health, tied in with the concept of contagion, became an aspect of government. Although a critic in *The Monthly Review* agreed that it contained

¹⁷⁶ *Aleppo*¹, 192–3, 197–202, 225–9, 234–5, 240–2, 250–261.

¹⁷⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 363.

¹⁷⁸ *Aleppo*², ii, 338–9, 347, 354, 357–60, 377, 384.

¹⁷⁹ *Monthly Review* 18 (1795), 257.

¹⁸⁰ Russell, *Treatise on the plague* (*Aleppo*², ii, 338–9, 347, 354, 357–60, 377, 384). Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 51.

¹⁸¹ Arnold Zuckerman, ‘Plague and contagionism in eighteenth-century England’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 78/2 (2004), 273–308 (303). Russell, *Treatise* discussed in Carl Ignaz Lorinser, *Die Pest des Orients* (Berlin: Enslin, 1837), 105–10, 142–4, 177, 252, 280, 341–2.

¹⁸² Review of *Treatise of the Plague*, *Critical Review* 2 (May 1791), 1–9.

¹⁸³ Russell’s *Treatise of the Plague* was summarised at length, with many excerpts in *The Analytical Review* 10 (1791), 259–70.

‘very valuable addition to our medical and political information’, he thought that ‘much of the discussions relative to preceding authors might have been omitted’ and its other superfluities would have gained in point of accommodation to readers¹⁸⁴ — a criticism that could be levelled at *Aleppo*² in general.

By the mid-eighteenth century it became popular to collect statistics to support scientific studies.¹⁸⁵ Alexander provided useful data in the form of a ‘Register of births and burials between 1742 and 1750’.¹⁸⁶ Similar data was collected by Mackenzie, in Constantinople in the 1750s.¹⁸⁷ During his stay in Aleppo between 1750 and 1771, Patrick recorded mortality trends and described, month by month, the course of the plague and associated economic conditions in Aleppo during an epidemic.¹⁸⁸ Building on material he had prepared for *Aleppo*², Patrick published further statistics with a breakdown of mortality estimates in his *Treatise* (7,767 burials in 1761 and 11,883 in 1762, as recorded by observers at cemeteries), that is, around 15%–20% level of mortality in the city.¹⁸⁹ The numbers of people dying are horrific. In his *Treatise* Patrick noted that he encountered 4,400 cases of the plague. In May 1761, Patrick recorded 171 deaths with the figure rising to 670 by the beginning of June when he used to treat 300–400 people in an afternoon and was ‘held in high esteem by all those who came under his care’.¹⁹⁰ Dawes, another contagionist, kept records of the plague and included meteorological observations

¹⁸⁴ *Monthly Review* 14 (1794), 67.

¹⁸⁵ Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 21. Tore Frängsmyr, J.L. Heilbron and R.E. Rider (eds), *The quantifying spirit in the 18th century* (Oxford: University of California Press, 1990)

¹⁸⁶ *Aleppo*¹, 362–3. Armstrong, ‘Art XII’, 4.

¹⁸⁷ Various letters from Mordach Mackenzie to John Clephane and Mead were published in the Appendix to Dale Ingram, *An historical account of the several plagues that have appeared in the world since the year 1346* (London: R. Baldwin, 1755), 167–86; including ‘Extracts of several letters of Mordach Mackenzie, MD, concerning the plague at Constantinople’, *Philosophical Transactions* 47 (1751), 384–95; ‘A further account of the late plague at Constantinople, in a letter of Dr Mackenzie from thence, of the 23 of April 1752, to John Clephane, MD. FRS.’, *Philosophical Transactions* 47 (1751), 514–6; ‘An account of the plague at Constantinople: in a letter from Mordach Mackenzie, MD to Sir James Porter, His Majesty’s Envoy Plenipotentiary at Brussels, and FRS’, *Philosophical Transactions* 54 (1764), 69–82. Ingram, *Several plagues*, 167–86.

¹⁸⁸ Patrick (*Aleppo*², i, 9; ii, 338–9), Volney, *Voyage en Syrie*, ii, 135, and Drummond, *Different cities*, 182, all observed that few villages were inhabited and fertile areas to the north and west were abandoned. Marcus, *Eve of modernity* 138, 356; Norman Lewis, ‘Travellers in Tayyibah, the northern desert of Syria, 1600–1980’, in Okasha El Daly and Janet Starkey (eds), *Desert travellers* (Durham: Astene, 2000), 59–82.

¹⁸⁹ *Aleppo*², ii 344–5. Patrick, *Treatise of the plague*, 33. These statistics are discussed by Panzac, *La Peste*, 353–7.

¹⁹⁰ Jayakody, ‘Russell of Russell’s Viper fame’.

publishing an account of the epidemic of 1762 in Aleppo.¹⁹¹ An interest in the collection of statistics and scientific data continued into the Romantic period of the early nineteenth century.¹⁹²

Who Patrick selected as ‘peer reviewers’ or ‘academic readers’ for his draft of the *Treatise* (and by extension his chapter on the plague in *Aleppo*² too) may be significant. Not only interested in medical diagnosis and treatment, Patrick recognized the economic and social implications of the plague and commercial loss as a result of quarantine,¹⁹³ which affected ‘every feature of life, from economics, wage labour and the disturbance of trade, to art history and hopes for the afterlife, from concepts of social alliance to new forms of hospital architecture.’¹⁹⁴ From India, Patrick sent fair copies of his *Treatise* to the economist Adam Smith — and to his kinsmen: Adam Ferguson and William Robertson — for their ‘friendly revisal’.¹⁹⁵ In August 1792, Patrick returned the favour by looking for any inaccuracies in Robertson’s book *The Knowledge of which the ancients had of India*.¹⁹⁶ According to a letter from Jones to Patrick of 28 September 1786, Patrick also sent a draft of his *Treatise* to Jones for his comments but the latter did not have time to review the manuscript.¹⁹⁷ By sending the draft to these respected busy authors with the proper expertise, Patrick was able to validate its quality, just as peer reviewers today are recognized as a critical component of the publication process. The reviews lent credence to his text, particularly to the socio-economic material of his project. Sir Gilbert Blane, who served on the 1799 Privy Council Quarantine

¹⁹¹ Thomas Dawes, ‘An account of the plague at Aleppo in a letter to the Rev Charles Lyttelton LLD, Dean of Exeter’, *Philosophical Transactions* 53 (1762), 39–47, noted that numbers were difficult to calculate as the Turks kept no register but there were as many as 300 burials a day in June at one or other of the seventy-two burial grounds within seven miles of the city; Jewish, and Christian communities had only one burial ground each and kept registers; thus indicating a loss of 3,500 in five months in their population.

¹⁹² Andrew Cunningham and Nicholas Jardine (eds.) *Romanticism and the Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

¹⁹³ Russell, *Treatise of the plague*, 34, *Aleppo*² ii, 383. Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 376, cites PRO SP 110/47, folio 18 (31 December 1761) on the effects of the plague on business interests.

¹⁹⁴ Natalie Zemon Davis, ‘Black Death: sources concerning the European plague’ (www.adam-matthew-publications.co.uk/collections_az/BlackD-1-1/description.aspx).

¹⁹⁵ *Scots Magazine*, ‘Patrick Russell’, 907.

¹⁹⁶ No letters between Patrick and these philosophers have yet been traced apart from one to Robertson (Boogert, ‘Patrick Russell’, 261). Jane Rendall, ‘Scottish Orientalism: from Robertson to James Mill’, *Historical Journal* 25/1 (1982), 43–69, selected Robertson as her starting point to analyse Scottish Orientalists on India.

¹⁹⁷ Boogert, ‘Patrick Russell’, 259.

Committee with Patrick, was full of praise for the ‘fulness [sic] and accuracy’ of Patrick’s work on the plague: ‘For farther information I beg to refer you to the work of Dr Russell who has deserved highly of the world for the intrepidity ingenuity and industry he has displayed in his labours on this branch of his profession.’¹⁹⁸

Although Patrick’s *Treatise* is now outdated it has an extensive appendix which contains very thorough daily records of 120 case histories he observed, and in many instances his patients survived. These case studies provided exceptional information about social life in Aleppo and medical descriptions of the symptoms and methods of containment.¹⁹⁹ For example,

CASE IV: July 1760: A widow lady, about forty, of a delicate, thin habit, and the mother of several children, found herself indisposed on the twelfth of July, in the evening, and observed one of the glands of her neck a little swelled. Next morning, she was pretty well, but, in the evening, became hot and feverish, and the swelling increased. On the 3rd day she was bled.

I saw her the 6th day, in the morning. Her eyes had not the muddy appearance, so remarkable in the plague, but her countenance was strangely altered. The forehead was streaked with purplish red, and her cheeks flushed, and were pale, by turns. The pulse was moderately full, but exceedingly quick - the skin felt hot and burning; and the tongue was whitish, not parched. She complained of head-ach, and of pain at the heart. Her thirst was moderate; she had a constant loathing, but had not vomited. She had retained her senses from the beginning, and gave me a distinct account of what had passed, adding, despondently, that she was sure she must die. The parotid of the right side, was enlarged to the size of a hen’s egg, and two of the cervical glands also were considerably swelled. These tumours were hard, painful, and slightly inflamed in the middle.

The exacerbation, on the night of the 6th, had been violent. She vomited frequently, and had a stool, for the first time in five days. Her condition on the 7th was much the same as yesterday. The 8th, she appeared to be worse. The tumours were enlarged, but had made no approach to maturation. The 9th, I saw her not, but was informed she remained in the same state. She had hitherto taken the diaphoretic mixture, and acidulated cordials, but from this time (I believe) took no medicine. She died the 11th day of the disease.

Case V: ‘The daughter of the lady, (CASE IV) a sprightly, healthy girl, eight years of age, was taken ill at the same time with her mother. I saw her on the 6th day, for the first time. Her eyes were a little muddy, her face pale; but there was little alteration in her tongue. The pulse was low, and exceedingly quick. The external heat was considerable, but, by the nurse’s account, she was then less feverish than the preceeding day. She had a bubo, situated unusually high, in the right axilla, about the size of a green walnut, hard, and painful, but without external inflammation. On each arm were two pustules (the size of a ripe small - pocle) which had been protruded on the 4th day. These, at top, were covered with a brownish crust, from beneath which oozed a thin ichorous matter. The skin round

¹⁹⁸ Sir Gilbert Blane, *Observations on the Diseases of Seamen* (London: Murray and Highley, 1799), 611, 620.

¹⁹⁹ Several of these cases were subsequently cited, for example, in a manual by Liande Wu, Yung-han Chen, R. Pollitzer and Chang-yao Wu, *Plague* (Shanghai Station: Weishengshu National Quarantine Service, 1936), 370; and Davis, ‘Black Death’.

them, was not so intensely red as I had before observed in carbuncles. Besides these eruptions, one less common, was situated in the left arm, above the usual place of opening issues. This was a hard, painful, glandular-like swelling, larger than a hazelnut, and deep seated under the skin, which was neither tense, nor inflamed. Circumstances prevented my seeing this girl after the 9th day. The axillary bubo opened in the 3rd week, and she recovered very well. An old woman who attended constantly on this girl and her mother was not infected.

The second example may well been a case of septicaemic plague. If septicemic plague is left untreated, it then progresses to pneumonic plague. Patrick probably even identified cases of secondary highly infectious pneumonic plague which is caught by breathing in droplets or as a progression from another type of the plague.²⁰⁰ These examples of case studies taken by the Russells illustrate they were involved in developing new therapies and practices. By comparing cases, they began to explore aspects of the constitution of individuals and why some people were more susceptible to diseases than others; how contagious different epidemics or diseases were; what the many different environmental variables were; what new or local experiments or treatments might be worth pursuing; and how effective or dangerous different treatments might be.

5.3 Epidemic diseases: causation and pestilential contagion

Whilst the Russells' work on the plague took place within the wider context of dangers facing travellers and residents, their expertise placed them in the forefront of existing medical knowledge and as advocates of the notion of contagion.²⁰¹ Alexander resigned from his post in Aleppo in 1753, returning to England in February 1755 via the *lazarettos* in Naples and Leghorn, set up for those impounded in quarantine at Mediterranean ports, in order to expand his study of the plague. In 1771 Patrick left Aleppo, returning chiefly overland, as his brother had done, through Italy and France, to enquire into the management of *lazarettos*.²⁰² As a result of their studies in Aleppo, both advised the Privy Council in London to review quarantine regulations.²⁰³

²⁰⁰ Emilie Savage-Smith, personal communication.

²⁰¹ Starkey, 'Contagion followed'.

²⁰² Cunningham, *Lives* (1837), iii, 119.

²⁰³ Charles Maclean, *Evils of quarantine laws and non-existence of pestilential contagion* (London: Thomas & George Underwood, 1824), 43–44, 276–7.

One aspect of the bubonic plague and other epidemic diseases that puzzled Patrick was why some people in Aleppo appeared to be immune, as he appeared to be himself. For example, he discovered that ‘the Veneral [sic] Disease, though common among the Turks and Christians, is very seldom met with among the Aleppo Jews’.²⁰⁴ In Aleppo, although they recognised that highly contagious venereal diseases such as gonorrhoea were infectious, it was attributed to a variety of causes, including pipe smoking, eating out of a spoon and wearing infected clothes²⁰⁵ — rather than contagion during sexual intercourse.²⁰⁶ In general Turks rejected the idea of contagion as impious and they claimed that whilst the physic is from the doctor, the cure is from God.²⁰⁷

In contrast, the half-brothers accepted the concept of ‘contagion’ and collected records to identify connections between the weather and disease,²⁰⁸ citing travellers accounts to support the idea of contagion.²⁰⁹ In the *Treatise*, Patrick emphasized that disease could be communicated from person to person as well as via infected merchandise or clothing.²¹⁰ Dangers of pollution lay behind Patrick’s advice against smallpox to James Bruce about 1770: even before the bacterial dangers of inadequate personal hygiene as the source of illness were discovered:—

I set all the servants to work. There were apartments enough. I opened all the doors and windows, fumigating them with incense and myrrh in abundance, washed them with warm water and vinegar, and adhered strictly to the rules which my worthy and skilled friend, Doctor Russel [sic], had given me at Aleppo.²¹¹

Many explanations were given. Apart from divine intervention, other suggested causes in the *Paris Consilium*²¹² related to the physical environment: earthquakes, the weather, miasma, famine and polluted air — even realignment of planets. Alexander in *Aleppo* had stated that ‘the generality of fevers there and indeed almost

²⁰⁴ *Aleppo*², ii, 84.

²⁰⁵ *Aleppo*¹, 143.

²⁰⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 312–13.

²⁰⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 235: ‘il Dowa min al Hakeem, al shiffa min Ullah!’ i.e. *al-dawā’ min al-ḥakīm, al-shifā’ min Allāh!*

²⁰⁸ *Aleppo*¹, 158–89, 167, 210; Russell, *Treatise*, 44, 94; *Aleppo*², ii, 293, 336–9.

²⁰⁹ *Aleppo*², i, 362, citing Ives, *Voyage*, Thévenot, *Travels into the Levant*; Tavernier, *Les six voyages de Jean Baptiste Tavernier*; Bruce, *Travels*, iv, 557, 583.

²¹⁰ Russell, *Treatise*, cited by Robert Gooch, *An account of some of the most important diseases peculiar to women* (London: J. Murray, 1831), 405.

²¹¹ James Macarthur Reid, *Traveller extraordinary* (New York: WW Norton, 1968), 115.

²¹² The *Paris Consilium* was drawn up by a committee of 49 medical experts from the University of Paris appointed by Philip VI in 1348.

all acute diseases, are subject to exacerbations once or *twice* in every twenty-four hours'.²¹³ Balfour, in his article published in 1808 on the effects of solar-lunar activity on cycles of fever, cited Patrick, who recorded that 'febrile paroxysm returned obviously every twelve hours in coincidence with the periods of the tides'.

The possible causes of the 'plague' and other infectious diseases are still a consistent topic in medical publications in Edinburgh, London and around Europe, just as they were in the eighteenth century. A recent report in the *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* suggested that climatic changes could lead to an increased number of outbreaks of bubonic plague. This research in Kazakhstan found that fleas which act as vectors of bacterium *Yersinia pestis* from host rodents are active when the temperature is over 10°C (50°F), which means that a warm, frost-free spring followed by a wet summer provide good breeding conditions. This report concluded that a 1°C increase in spring can be predicted to lead to an over 50% increase in the prevalence of bubonic plague.²¹⁴

5.4 Conclusion

Fascinating explanations and experiments undertaken by the Russells in Aleppo have lost their significance in the light of recent advances in medicine. However Western medicine was transformed by the intellectual environment of the Enlightenment from one that relied on superstition and a model of systematic humoral disorder to one that was based on rational scientific methodologies so that physicians could specialize in specific diseases or parts of the anatomy.²¹⁵ For pupils of 'new' medicine, medical practice no longer relied on traditional panaceas. Instead, through close observation and careful experiment, they explored new remedies and medicines. There was a gradual but fundamental shift towards the identification of specific diseases and potential cures through experimentation and medical observation.

²¹³ Cited in Francis Balfour MD, 'Observations respecting the remarkable effects of *Sol-Lunar* influence on the fevers of India with the scheme of an astronomical ephemeris for the purposes of medicine and meteorology', *Asiatick Researches* 8 (1808), 1–34 (10).

²¹⁴ Nils Chr. Stenseth et al., 'Plague dynamics are driven by climate variation', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 103/35 (2006), 13110–5.

²¹⁵ Roy Porter, *Medicine* (London: Barnes & Noble, 1997), 9–10.

‘New’ medicine also began to have an impact in the Ottoman empire. The chapter has raised issues about the complicated processes of knowledge transfer between East and West. Whilst critical medical researchers at the time, such as Cullen and Fothergill, developed expertise by conceptualizing categories of disease and interpreting their experiences, the Russells provided additional patient input and local indigenous knowledge from Aleppo. Yet the dangers of working as physicians in a city periodically ravaged by epidemics and fevers cannot be over-emphasized. Despite the prevalence of and serious effects of recurring epidemics, whose effects were inevitably unpredictable and uncontrollable, epidemics were dangerous and difficult to understand. Close scrutiny of the Russells’ medical texts revealed that they were no doubt doing their best to treat their patients in an environment without antibiotics and other medical drugs and at a time before bacteria had been discovered. Clearly, the Russells engaged in various levels of study in Aleppo: medical and ethnographic observation, and the blending of classical, Arabic and European traditions. Although the number and range of Arabic authorities consulted by Patrick is impressive compared to any other contemporary travel or medical account, hardly any modern scholars have appreciated this important facet of his scholarship.²¹⁶

What is pleasing is that some of the Russells’ descriptions of medical conditions are still quoted in academic papers.²¹⁷ In addition, the Russells’ scientific work was one of the subjects of ‘Arabick Roots’, an exhibition in the summer of 2011 at the Royal Society, London, that celebrated the work of past Fellows of the Royal Society, and was sponsored by the Qatar Foundation and the Foundation for Science, Technology and Civilization.²¹⁸ It was only recently that broader effects of cultural and physical environment on disease that the Russells embraced have begun to be reintegrated into modern medical studies: this may well revitalize the importance of *Aleppo*.

²¹⁶ Apart from Boogert, *Aleppo observed* and his various articles (see bibliography)

²¹⁷ Daniela Kamir. ‘A Leishmania ortholog of Macrophage Migration Inhibitory Factor Modulates Host Macrophage Responses’, PhD dissertation, Aachen University, 2008; Merrill Singer, *Introduction to syndemics* (London: John Wiley, 2009); Andrew Cunningham and Perry Williams (eds), *Laboratory revolution in medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 219–22.

²¹⁸ Royal Society, *Arabick Roots*.

Chapter 6

Flora and fauna: towards Linnaean classification

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter focused on epidemic diseases, so that modern readers of *Aleppo* could appreciate the Russells' effective contributions as scientists and medical practitioners. It also went some way to explain why such exotic subjects might fascinate their eighteenth-century readers. However, the Russells also searched for new species, for potential medical plants and other local *materia medica*, that is, collected knowledge about the therapeutic properties of any substance used for healing. The same rigour was applied by the Russells to the natural history of the Levant as they applied to medicine.

Whilst *Aleppo observed* provided a useful starting point for the researcher of natural history in *Aleppo*² by providing information on diet, ichthyology, ornithology and botany, it contains little from the earlier edition apart from reproductions of original illustrations.¹ This chapter will consider what influenced the 'natural history' material in the two editions of *Aleppo*. In the second section, the Russells' research in natural history, that is, the gathering of data, information and facts for the advancement of knowledge, will be compared. In the third section, the natural history chapters of *Aleppo* will be located within the context of the historical development of the subject in the Levant, by noting the range of relevant authorities (personal and bibliographic) that were critical for identification of species. A brief case study on stimulants will be used to demonstrate how Patrick, in particular, substantiated his research with references from the works of other travellers. The final section of this chapter will explore how the Russells collected specimens that could be used for the development of new therapeutics and experimental pharmacology, for the Russells were part of a gradual transition towards scientific specialization.

¹ Original illustrations that were republished in *Aleppo observed* included Syrian fishes (104–13); birds (114–27, 134–5), botany (127–33, 136).

Dominating this chapter will be an exploration about how *Aleppo* challenges or confirms today's conventional ideas about the development of Linnaean terminology. This was based on the revolutionary idea of the sexuality of plants. The most critical transformation in the study of natural history in the eighteenth century was due to the enduring impact of Linnaeus. Alexander published *Aleppo*¹ before Linnaeus (d.1778) had a profound effect on the study of natural history, whilst Patrick was able to incorporate the Linnaean system in his edition. This revolution in the natural sciences simply meant that Alexander's terminology became redundant by 1794. This revolution certainly explains why Alexander's important research has been overlooked since the 1790s, though accounts by other travellers, such as the exuberant James Bruce, are still well known — but it does not explain why Patrick's data on flora and fauna, published in 1794, should have been marginalized within the increasingly refined disciplines of the nineteenth century.

Furthermore, as this chapter will outline, there were significant changes in the study of natural history from the middle to the end of the Enlightenment and this transformation was variously reflected in the two editions. It became a gentlemanly occupation to collect flora and fauna specimens, to travel and to set up collections in curiosity cabinets after travellers returned home. As the Russells demonstrated, during this period the study of plants changed from a gentle interest by gentlemen-collectors to the beginnings of scientific botany, based on observation and taxonomies. This chapter will outline how *Aleppo*¹ confirmed conventional ideas but tentatively explored new avenues; whilst *Aleppo*² took up challenges which were part of the scientific revolution of the Scottish Enlightenment that were to be carried forward into the Romantic period.²

6.1 The Natural History of Aleppo

A substantial proportion of *Aleppo* was about plants, animals, insects, fish and associated topics such as agriculture and gardens.³ Chapter III in *Aleppo*¹ included information on the range of animals, crops and fruit available locally; from fat-tailed sheep and goats, to hares, gazelles, crops and vegetables. This was amplified and

² See Chapter 3, above, for background on the eighteenth-century genre of natural history

³ *Aleppo* (1757), 102.

reorganized in *Aleppo*², ii, with a wider range of species. However, before exploring the differences between the two editions, it will be useful to compare part of Cleghorn's text from his *Observations*, taken from the third edition of 1768, for it was obviously a model for Alexander's work, as is shown in the following excerpts of text. At first sight the two excerpts look very similar. However *Aleppo*¹ had many additional merits. It not only provided the full Latin name of a species but the authority of that name. The pot-herbs discussed are given a social context; local names were used. There were descriptions about how plants were cultivated and used, and how good yields could be obtained. There was information about annual cycles of plants and, in short, Alexander provided more interesting and informative material than Cleghorn.

INTRODUCTION.

fuch Plants, as serve the Natives for Sal-
lading and Pot-Herbs; viz. Succory (9),
Prickly Rock Asparagus (10), Alexanders
(1), Buckthorn Plantain (2), Goat's-
beard (3), Fennel (4), Hawkweed (5),
Purflane (6), Sow-thistle (7), Sorrel (8),
Water-Cresses (9), Capers (10), and
Samphire (1).

To the same Class belong Borrage (2),
Blites (3), Beets (4), Orrache (5), Dan-

- (9) Cichorium, *Camarotjes*.
- (10) Asparagus, *Corruda*, *Esparachs*.
- (1) Smyrnium, *Cugulls*.
- (2) Coronopus, *Cornicellis*.
- (3) Scorzonera, *Tragopogon*, *Cuxa de Dona*.
- (4) Fœniculum, *Fœni*.
- (5) Hieracium, *Coscunias*.
- (6) Portulaca, *Verdulagas*.
- (7) Sonchus, *Llesfons*.
- (8) Acetosa, *Vinagrellas*.
- (9) Syfimbrium, *Crexecbs*.
- (10) Capparis, *Taparas*.
- (1) Crithmus, *Fœni mari*.
- (2) Borrago, *Borrajtes*.
- (3) Blitum, *Blets*.
- (4) Beta, *Bledas*.
- (5) Attriplex.

delion

CITY OF ALEPPO. 27

Besides what have been already mentioned, which
are produced by culture, the fields afford the buglofs
(a), mallow (b), and asparagus (c), which they use as
pot-herbs; the capper (d), which they pickle; the
dandelion (e), and water cresses (f), used in sallading;
and the summer favory (g), which, dried and pow-
dered, and mixed with salt, they call *zater*, and often
eat as a relisher with bread, serving many of the na-
tives by way of breakfast in the winter-season; also
the *Spanish* nut (h); and a species of hartwort (i), called
by them *fecacul*; both which they eat crude.

In their little gardens they cultivate, besides the
roses already mentioned, the *Dutch* hundred-leaf rose
(k); monthly rose (l), which, by proper management,
flowers about ten months in the year; a few plants of

- (a) Buglossum angustifolium majus flore caeruleo, C. B. P. 256.
Buglossum vulgare albo & violaceo colore, H. R. Par.
Buglossum sylvestre minus.
- (b) Malva vulgaris flore minore, C. B. P. 314.
- (c) Asparagus sylvestris tenuissimo folio, C. B. P. 490.
- (d) Capparis spinosa fructu minore folio rotundo, C. B. P. 480.
- (e) Dens leonis orientalis tenuissimo divisis tomentosis & incanis, T. Cor.
- (f) Syfimbrium aquaticum Mathioli, 437.
- (g) Syfimbrium creticum Raphani foliis eleganter dissectis, T. Cor. 35.
- (h) Satureia lativa, J. B. III. 272.
- (i) Silyrinchium majus flore lutea macula notata, C. B. P. 40.
- (j) Tordylium orientale fecacul Arabium dictum, Boer. Ind. Alt. 68.
- (k) Rosa centifolia Batavica, Cluf. H.
- (l) Rosa omnium calendarum, H. R. Par.

E 2

the

FIGURE 7. A comparison of two sample pages of Cleghorn's *Epidemical diseases* and Alexander's *Aleppo*

A more detailed comparison between Cleghorn's text and *Aleppo*² (Figure 7) reveals further transformations.⁴ In *Aleppo*², Alexander's roses were simply listed with their Linnaean names⁵ but without the common names that Alexander had used (viz., Sweet briar, Hundred-leaved rose, Monthly rose, Dog-rose, White rose) and commercial products were elegantly described:

tufts of lofty trees, which, uniting their branches at top, give shelter to roses of different sorts, and to a profusion of wild aromatic herbs, which, thus protected from the fun, long retain their fragrance. The flowers cultivated for sale, contribute little to the ornament of the gardens; being neither displayed regularly in parterres, nor artfully scattered among the plantations.⁶

— they became romantic in *Aleppo*²: 'They dress in their holyday clothes, the children are crowned with garlands of roses.'⁷

The Russells' research methodology on flora and fauna was sophisticated and well constructed. Their botanical research area was defined and was usually confined to two to three miles around the city. No more than six specific areas of land were surveyed and at different times of year.⁸ In contrast, despite their own fascination with natural history, they were not surprised to find that local Aleppines paid little attention to scientific investigation. Even the educated classes were 'strangers to experiment'. Instead they took what they read in books at face value.⁹

*The British Critic*¹⁰ praised the fourth book of *Aleppo*² for its descriptions and illustrations which included cows, fat-tailed sheep, camels and horses,¹¹ hedgehogs, rats, jerboas and even lions and bears. The parts on quadrupeds and birds may well have represented all the relevant species to be found around Aleppo. Every type of

⁴ It is not clear what system Cleghorn used to name his plants but by 1794 'asparagus' is listed using Linnaean terminology as 'asparagus' officinalis. L. f. p. 448 (ii, 250) and 'caper' as Capparis spinosa. Linn. Sp. pi. 720 (ii, 254).

⁵ Rosa rubiginosa. Linn. mant. 564; Rosa centifolia. Linn. Sp. pi. 704; Rosa sempervirens. L. f. p. 704; Rosa canina. L. f. p. 704; Rosa alba. L. si. p. 705 (ii, 253)

⁶ *Aleppo*², i, 82.

⁷ *Aleppo*², ii, 68.

⁸ Early spring: gardens near town; along the river to the first mill; late spring: cultivated land between mount Zeilet (?) and the stone quarries, on the west side of the river; mid-April, fields and risings near the second mill and Ramusa (Ramūsah), on one side, and between Babullah (Bāb Allāh?) village and Heylan (Haylān) to north. *Aleppo*², ii, 241.

⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, 108.

¹⁰ *British Critic* 5 (1795), 12–17.

¹¹ John Floyd in Trichinopoly (28 September 1794) described notes made by Patrick in Aleppo on the Arabian horse (James Anderson, *Miscellaneous communications* (Madras: W.S. Cooper, [1795]), 20).

animal that Patrick found was described, some in considerable detail. It contained, for example, the earliest known description of the Syrian Golden Hamster.¹²

Alexander studied plants only in the last two or three years of his stay in Aleppo, but Patrick made his own botanical collections. His successor, a protégée of Professor Hope, Adam Freer MD (1747–1811), was instrumental in providing data on flora and fauna after Patrick left Aleppo, discovering further plants and sending dried specimens for Patrick to identify with the help of various friends, including Philip Miller FRS.¹³ Thus we find Freer exploring the ‘sunk’ village in search of the wild pistachio.¹⁴ Based on a tail and forepart only, Freer provided a detailed description of a strange animal, a ‘sheeb’ (*shīb*), that was shot near Spheery (Şufayrah, N 36° 1' 11" E 37° 11' 48") in 1772 when it was following the Basra caravan.¹⁵ Freer also supplied Hope with various botanical specimens.¹⁶ These were sent in a parcel by Hope to Banks and, as a result, all three collections were used to prepare the catalogue of plants that appeared in *Aleppo*.¹⁷ There is a ‘List of the plants growing in the neighbourhood of Aleppo prepared ann. 1769’ among the John Hope Papers in Edinburgh.¹⁸

Whilst recognising that more use might have been made of natural history observations by earlier travellers, the uneven coverage of such sources related to the Russells’ pursuit of their own interests. For example, Patrick records research by other colleagues, such as an anatomic study of jerboas from John Hunter’s now lost manuscript notes (*Adversaria*) with other descriptions by Bruce, Shaw, Gmelin and

¹² *Aleppo*², ii, 182. Using Linnaeus and Buffon as his authorities, Patrick mistakenly accepted the Syrian hamster as the same species as the ordinary hamster.

¹³ *Aleppo*², ii, 237–8, 267.

¹⁴ *Aleppo*², i, 84.

¹⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 184–5. The *shīb* was a strange rabid wolf-like creature, possibly a rare wolf-dog hybrid rather than a bazaar dog or a striped hyaena.

¹⁶ *Aleppo observed*, 136.

¹⁷ *Aleppo*², ii, 237–8.

¹⁸ John Hope papers donated in 1865 to the Royal Botanical Gardens, Edinburgh. According to Henry Noltie of the RBGE the original is now in NAS (GB 234 GD GD253/145/9/5, part of a deposited collection in the papers of Messrs D and JH Campbell, WS, solicitors, Edinburgh). The RBGE has a Xerox of this list and Noltie who ‘has been going through the herbarium and finding many of the specimens still there’ verifies that it is by Freer: ‘his writing is tiny and beautiful and unmistakable’ (personal communication, 5 October 2011).

the influential French naturalist Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon (1707–1788).¹⁹ Patrick described a dissection of a camel (*Camelus bactrianus*) possibly commissioned by Patrick in 1789 and undertaken by his ‘worthy friend’, John Hunter²⁰ who was assisted by Everard Home.²¹ John Hunter, like Cullen, was fascinated in the ‘matter of life’, of vital powers rather than just the mechanics of organisms.²²

This experiment was perhaps inspired by a legendary dissection of an elephant in Dundee in 1706 by the Scottish surgeon Patrick Blair MD FRS (1680–1728),²³ or to counter popular distrust of Bruce’s descriptions of camels. Branded a liar around London for his descriptions of Abyssinia, Bruce had explained that it was possible to obtain water from recently dead camels. In a strongly worded note in *Aleppo*² Patrick confirmed that Bruce, who by then was dead, was a man of integrity and veracity and that his information about camels was correct.²⁴ As already mentioned, Patrick discussed distances covered by camels by Rennell.²⁵

Patrick provided a methodical catalogue of birds seen in the environs of Aleppo as well as information about domestic fowl and gave relevant names in Arabic and Latin using the Linnaean system, as well as brief scientific and social notes from a range of sources and observations.²⁶ The later edition contained many more names of species than the earlier version though Patrick was concerned that his edition was still not comprehensive.

¹⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, 420–1. John Hunter’s notes were apparently ‘lost’ by his brother-in-law and executor, the surgeon Everard Home.

²⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 419–20 on jerboas; *Aleppo*², ii, 425–6 on camels. Claude Perrault’s dissection of a camel, described in *Mémoires pour servir à l’histoire naturelle des animaux* (Paris: [s.n.], 1676) was the first important work on comparative anatomy.

²¹ After John Hunter’s death Patrick asked Everard Home for Hunter’s additional notes on the event, without success; though Hume provided what he claimed to be his own recollections (*Aleppo*², ii, 426). A portion of the reticulum or water bag from John Hunter’s dissection (RCSHC/567), in a circular glass jar, was presented by the Trustees of the Hunterian Collection in 1799 now in the Hunterian Museum, Royal College of Surgeons, London (John Hunter’s collection MS. Catalogue, No. 414).

²² Sloan, ‘Natural History’, 925, discussed this vitalist revival of the late eighteenth century.

²³ Patrick Blair, *Osteographia elephantina* (London: G. Strahan and W. Innys, 1713).

²⁴ *Aleppo*², ii, 427 citing Bruce, *Travels*, iv, 596.

²⁵ Rennell, ‘On the rate of travelling as performed by camels’; idem, *Treatise*. Starkey, ‘James Rennell’.

²⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 192.

Most travel accounts neglected to mention fishes but Alexander listed seventeen different species of fish (as did Patrick), describing those illustrated in his Plate XII in great detail.²⁷ Again he included socio-cultural information about fish consumption: ‘the Tables of the Europeans are well supplied with provisions of all kinds, except sea fish, which can only be procured fresh in winter.’²⁸ Patrick classified the seventeen species more systematically.

The sections on reptiles in both of the editions considered those that were useful to humans (as food such as snails; silk worms, bees)²⁹ or harmful to people (scorpions, snakes, bugs, fleas and mosquitoes) — all appropriately listed with their Latin names. Alexander explained this was because he had no time to go into much detail. He mentions ‘large white snakes’, *scolopendra*,³⁰ locusts, various lizards, tree frogs and toads.³¹ In contrast, Patrick provided a complete chapter on insects, including their habitat and Linnaean names. He gave detailed medical observations and antidotes to any harmful effects. He also described the effects of scorpion stings.³²

6.2 From Aristotle to *Aleppo*²

Natural history authorities used in *Aleppo*² were far ranging and it will be useful here to provide some background to these references. In addition to those listed below and many travel accounts,³³ they included classical sources, such as Strabo’s *Geography* (c.AD 7–24), Pliny’s *Naturalis Historia*³⁴ and Aristotle’s *History of Animals* (c.350

²⁷ *Aleppo*¹, 73–75.

²⁸ *Aleppo*², ii, 9–11.

²⁹ Patrick owned Thomas Wildman’s *Treatise on the management of bees* (London: for the author, 1768), to which many of his colleagues, including James Russell, Franklin and Pringle, subscribed.

³⁰ *Scolopendra*: a genus of centipedes of the Scolopendridae family.

³¹ *Aleppo*¹, 61–63.

³² *Aleppo*², ii, 223. In line with local custom, Patrick treated scorpion stings with *theriac*, though he argued that ordinary vegetable oil was just as effective. He described this *theriac* as coming from Venice, i.e. Venice Treacle, see below. In India, his research focused on poisonous snakes.

³³ Patrick cites Bruce, *Travels*, on hyaenas in Barbary (*Aleppo*², ii, 187); on roller birds (*Aleppo*², ii, 198). Bruce, *Travels*, v, is entitled: ‘Select specimens of natural history, collected in travels to discover the source of the Nile, in Egypt, Arabia, Abyssinia, and Nubia’.

³⁴ *Aleppo*¹, 59 cites Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, ii, bk 8, 184, on the eyes of hyenas; *Aleppo*², i, 82, on pistachios; i, 367, on kohol; ii, 421, on the jerboa; ii, 169, on camels citing Pliny, *Historia naturalis* (Paris: s.n., 1723), xi, 640.

BC) in which animals with similar characters were classified into genera, then species were distinguished within genera.

In the Ottoman empire, there was considerable interest in natural history, especially in the medical properties of plants, in gardens, the symbolism of plants used in art and architecture — including fascination with carnations, roses and tulips. The period 1718 to 1730 under Sultan Aḥmad III was known as the ‘Tulip Era’, but no Turkish authorities on natural history are provided in either edition of *Aleppo*. Patrick, at least, used Arabic authorities on natural history. There were illustrated herbals from the eleventh century onwards, including *Tawqīm al-Ṣiḥḥah* (*The Maintenance of Health*) by Ibn Buṭlān (d.1068), with its emphasis on healthy living in line with Galenic humoral medicine.³⁵ However, this text was not mentioned in either edition of *Aleppo* even though Alexander owned another manuscript by the same author, nor did Alexander cite any other Arabic authorities. Arabic pharmaceutical literature began with translations of classical works, such as that undertaken by Abū al-Faraj (Bar Hebraeus) of an important compilation, *De materia medica* by Dioscorides that contains information on 600 herbs and plants and this was mentioned by Patrick.³⁶ From Casiri’s catalogue of the Escorial Library, Patrick discovered several Arab authors who wrote on natural history³⁷ and cited *Kitb al-Filāḥah*, a treatise by a twelfth-century soil scientist, Ibn al-‘Awwām, from Seville.³⁸ This treatise has been hailed as one of the greatest medieval expositions on agriculture.

In *Aleppo*² there were references to *Hierozoicon* by the Huguenot polymath and biblical scholar, Samuel Bochart (1599–1667).³⁹ Bochart included zoological

³⁵ Cathleen Hoeniger, ‘The illuminated *Tacuinum sanitatus* manuscripts from northern Italy ca. 1380–1400’, in Jean Ann Givens, Karen Reeds and Alain Touwaide (eds), *Visualizing medieval medicine and natural history, 1200–1550* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 51–82 (51–55).

³⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, Appendix, xix–x.

³⁷ *Aleppo*², ii, 417, citing the *Escorial Catalogue*, i, 318.

³⁸ *Aleppo*², i, 362. Lois Olson and Helen L. Eddy, ‘Ibn-Al-Awam’, *Geographical Review* 33/1 (1943), 100–9. Lucien Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine Arabe* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1876), 110–1.

³⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, 146, 158–9. Samuel Bochart, *Hierozoicon sive bipartitum opus de animalibus sacrae scripturae*, 2 volumes (London: Thomas Roycroft, 1663). Bochart used the work of the Persian naturalist and physician Zakariyyah ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, author of *Cosmography* (1203–1283), spelt Alkazuinius in *Aleppo*², ii, 416), whose work, like that of Damīrī, had not previously appeared in European print, as well as classical sources, including Pliny. Bochart also used another Arabic source by Abulfaphae, entitled ‘Arabis de Animalibus liber ingeniosissimus, à me etiam

observations by the Egyptian writer, Muḥammad b. Mūsā Damīrī (1341?–1405), who systematically described the 931 animals mentioned in the Qurʾān, and by about 200 poets and 500 prose writers in his *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān* (*Life of animals*, c.1371). Patrick also mentions Edward Pococke's manuscript copy at the Bodleian (c.1484).⁴⁰ It includes an etymology of Arabic names as well as dietary and medical uses of animals.⁴¹ In 1684, Bochart published *Geographia Sacra*⁴² that, together with *Hierozoicon*, at the time, represented seventeenth-century knowledge of the Levant.

Several travellers, many of them botanists and physicians, systematized nature and provided scientific descriptions of flora and fauna they observed in the field. Those used by Patrick included André Thévet (1516–1590), a Franciscan monk, who published *Cosmography of the Levant* in 1554. The natural historian Prosper Alpini,⁴³ author of *De medicina Egyptiorum*,⁴⁴ and *De plantis Aegypti liber* (1592) was another important authority.⁴⁵ The French naturalist, Pierre Belon du Mans (1517–1564),⁴⁶ described the plants, trees including conifers and their natural products, animals and geographic features of the region as well as medical practices. Belon's *Observations* led to the first major interest in exotic plants in Europe.⁴⁷

Another fascinating source cited by Patrick was *Aigentliche Beschreibung der Raisz so er vor diser Zeit gegen Auffgang inn die Morgenländer* by the physician,

Holmias lectus, sed ex Arabica lingua in Hebraicam à Calonymo transtatus anno Christi 1316' (untraceable (*Aleppo*², ii, 417), and not yet identified).

⁴⁰ It is still called Bodleian Ms Pococke 71. Edward Pococke and other distinguished scholars, such as Robert Huntington (in Aleppo 1671 to 1678), who held the post of chaplain in Aleppo used the opportunity to collect Oriental manuscripts and many were eventually bequeathed to Oxford's Bodleian Library.

⁴¹ *Aleppo*², ii, 108, 146, 183–4, 197, 236, 418, variously on snails, locusts, jackals, wolves, a roller bird, buffaloes, and an insect he identified (*Aleppo*², ii, 233) as wasp *Vespula vulgaris* Linn. and called it زيبوت *zinboot* (probably he meant *zinbūr* زيبور: a hornet, wasp or a stinging kind of fly). *Aleppo*², ii, 416 is a thorough note about Damīrī, whose work was also a source for Assemani and d'Herbelot.

⁴² Samuel Bochart, *Geographia Sacra seu Phaleg et Canaan* (Caen: Petri Cardonelli, 1646), cited in *Aleppo*², i, 348.

⁴³ Prosper Alpini (aka Prospero Alpinus), in *Aleppo*², i, 32, 372–4.

⁴⁴ Prosper Alpini, *De medicina Aegyptiorum* (Venice: Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1591); idem, *La médecine des Égyptiens* ([Cairo]: IFAO, [1980]).

⁴⁵ Prosper Alpini, *De plantis Aegypti liber* (Venice: Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1592).

⁴⁶ Belon du Mans is cited in *Aleppo*², i, 108, 140, 365–6, 368, 372, 374, 424–6, 435. Belon's works included *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez & choses memorables* (Paris: Guillaume Cauellet, 1555). Serge Sauneron (ed.), *Le Voyage en Égypte de Pierre Belon du Mans 1547* (Cairo: IFAO, 1970). Irwin, *For lust of knowing*, 63.

⁴⁷ John H. Harvey, 'Turkey as a source of garden plants', *Garden history* 4/3 (1976), 21–42; A. Baker, 'The cult of the tulip in Turkey', *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, 56 (1931), 240–1.

botanist and German traveller Leonhard Rauwolff (1535–1596) from Augsburg, as translated in the *Collection of Curious Travels* by the English naturalist John Ray FRS (1627–1705).⁴⁸ Rauwolff's 1582 account of his travels between 1573 and 1575,⁴⁹ written originally in a Swabian-German dialect, provided pioneering information on botany, medical plants and herbs, with detail about the provinces of Aleppo and Baghdad, with information for example, about gardens, citrus fruit and colocasia.⁵⁰ He was the first European to record the newly opened route to Baghdad and Mosul — and the first to describe the routine of the Turkish bath.⁵¹

Essentially *Aleppo* reflected the 'Age of Linnaeus and Buffon' when natural history was developing in revolutionary ways throughout the long eighteenth century. From about 1640 to 1740 many classificatory systems were explored and these various systems were used in *Aleppo*.¹ In the mid-eighteenth century, Buffon's *L'Histoire naturelle*⁵² was significant. Preoccupied with searching for truth and causal agencies, Buffon argued, for example, that different regions have distinct plants and animals despite similar environments and he also opposed Linnaeus's taxonomic revolution.

It will be worth describing three of Patrick's many natural history sources as they represent the state of knowledge at the time and because they illustrate how thoroughly he researched the field. These included *British Zoology*⁵³ by the Welsh naturalist Thomas Pennant (1726–1798), a friend of Voltaire and a correspondent with Linnaeus.⁵⁴ Secondly, the Swedish scientist, Fredric Hasselquist (d.1752),⁵⁵ published posthumously by Linnaeus. Hasselquist travelled to Syria at Linnaeus's

⁴⁸ John Ray, *Collection of curious travels, in two tomes the first containing Dr Leonhart Rauwolff's Itinerary into the eastern countries* (London: S. Smith and B. Walford, 1693; repr. 1705, 1738).

Patrick used vol. ii of the 1738 edition in *Aleppo*², i.

⁴⁹ Karl H. Dannenfeldt, *Leonard Rauwolf* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).

⁵⁰ *Aleppo*², i, 21–22, 46, 89, 94, 135, 222–3, 366, 373, Ray, *Curious travels*.

⁵¹ Rauwolff in Ray, *Curious travels*, 26.

⁵² Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon, *Histoire naturelle, generale et particuliere*, 44 volumes in 45 (Paris: l'imprimerie Royale, 1749–1804). Patrick cited editions published between 1749 and 1789 in *Aleppo*², i, 359, 408; ii, 146–9, 156–9, etc. (*Aleppo*², i, 359, 408 etc.). Buffon was one of the first natural historians to explore evolutionary ideas.

⁵³ Thomas Pennant, *Synopsis of quadrupeds* (Chester: J. Monk, 1771), cited *Aleppo*², ii, 153; idem, *British zoology*, 4 vols (Warrington: W. Eyres, 1776–1777) cited *Aleppo*², ii, 153, 159–2, 181.

⁵⁴ Perhaps surprisingly, there are no references to Pennant's *Indian zoology* (1769).

⁵⁵ Frederik Hasselquist, *Voyages and travels in the Levant* (London: L. Davis and C. Reymers, 1766). Published posthumously, in Swedish (1757). Cited in *Aleppo*², i, 81.

suggestion, in search of specimens of flora and fauna (May 1750–March 1751). Hasselquist's account included a description of the silk trade, of *Herpes Aleppina* (the Aleppo boil),⁵⁶ and he described Aleppo as 'the prettiest town in the Turkish Empire'.⁵⁷ Thirdly, *Gleanings* by a talented artist, George Edwards FRS (1694–1773), even included a description of an *Ardea minuta* and a *Charadrius spinosus* from dried specimens brought from Aleppo by Alexander in 1754 (Figure 8).⁵⁸



George Edwards, *Gleanings*, 135, Plate 275, drawn in 1756.

*Aleppo*¹, 71–72, Plate X and *Aleppo*², ii, 200–1, Plate IV.

FIGURE 8. The Little Bittern drawn from the same specimen (Arabic. *Sulwa*; Patrick: *Aves Grallae minuta*; now called *Ixobrychus minutus*)⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Hasselquist, *Voyages*, 391.

⁵⁷ Hasselquist, *Voyages*, 399.

⁵⁸ George Edwards, *Gleanings of natural history* (London: for author, 1758–1764), i, 84–86, ii, 135–7, 147–9 (*Aleppo*², ii, 200, 201, and associated colour plates 249, 275 and 280). Plate 249 *Tetrao Alcheta* (Turkish: *kata*) was drawn from a stuffed bird brought back by Alexander and a life-size drawing in the British Museum. It is the same bird as *Aleppo*², ii, 195, fig. iii. Plate 280 shows the same bird as figure V opposite *Aleppo* (1794), ii, 201. On a drawing entitled a *Bird of the East Indies* by George Edwards (1694–1773) listed in www.abebooks.co.uk/ (9 September 2012) is a note: '24. This bird is in the collection of Alexander Russell MD it was brought from the East Indies, it is drawn of its natural size from the bird preserved dry. The insides of the wings are of a dark ash colour the edges of the feathers lighter colour, the tail dark ash colour beneath all that part colour green is glossy like polished mettles and changable like the colours in hummingbirds. I take it to be a bird hitherto undescribed.'

⁵⁹ Alexander gave Edwards permission to draw the bird from his own dried specimen which he brought back from Aleppo. The Little Bittern was unknown until Alexander introduced it in 1755.

Edwards was a close friend of Fothergill, Ellis and Collinson. After his death, Linnaeus published a catalogue of Edwards's findings.⁶⁰ Above all, Linnaeus's *Systema naturae* and *Species plantarum* were thoroughly referenced. Connections with Linnaeus and Linnaeus *filius* (1741–1783) ('L.f.') continued through a range of other relevant authorities cited in *Aleppo*.

Furthermore, Patrick cited the beautifully illustrated *Travels* (1738) by Shaw. Although unacknowledged by Alexander, it must have provided an excellent model of a 'natural history' for the Russells. Shaw corresponded with Linnaeus, collected flora and fauna specimens throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and employed the German botanist Johann Jakob Dillenius (1687–1747) to catalogue his flora. Shaw aimed to provide a 'natural history' including botanical, zoological and topographical information, especially of Algeria. He included maps and wonderful copper plates, designed by the author. He also provided toponyms in Arabic characters. In *Aleppo*² there are eleven extracts from Shaw's *Travels*: about buffaloes, locusts in North Africa, the numbers of toes on a jerboa, and on Shaw's *kumrah*, a celebrated Barbary hybrid (half ass/half cow).⁶¹

Patrick applied 'scientific' principles in line with a new genre of travelogue on the Levant that post-dated (and might have been influenced by) *Aleppo*¹ and was more than mere collection of data. This model developed in France, Germany⁶² and Denmark and can be identified with the ill-fated Royal Danish Expedition which set out for Arabia in January 1761.⁶³ It embraced Niebuhr's research and that of the physician, botanist and linguist, Pehr Forsskål (d.1763), one of Linnæus's 'apostles', whose work was prepared posthumously for publication by Niebuhr.⁶⁴ Fascinated by natural historical and geographical aspects of biblical studies, the great theologian,

⁶⁰ George Edwards and Sir C. Linnaeus, *A catalogue of the birds, beasts, fishes, insects, plants, &c* (London, [s.n.], 1776).

⁶¹ *Aleppo*², i, 360, 367–8; ii, 162, 175, 229, 417–18, 420. Shaw, *Travels, or observations*. The derivation of this word, sometimes given as *jumar*, is uncertain.

⁶² For example, the exciting and readable account of Cook's second voyage to the Pacific by Patrick's friend, Georg Forster FRS was scientifically accurate and included ethnographic facts. Like *Aleppo*, it was based on sympathetic observation and interjected with philosophical remarks. The Russells' friendships with scholars who were on Cook's voyages warrant further publication.

⁶³ Irwin, *For lust of knowing*, 131–2.

⁶⁴ Pehr Forsskål, *Flora Aegyptiaco-Arabica* (Copenhagen: Mølleri, 1775) cited *Aleppo*², ii, 199, 204, 205. Forsskål pioneered work in marine biology, the study of migratory birds, plant biology and the geography of plants. He collected c.1800 plant samples for a herbarium which still exists.

Johann-David Michaelis (1717–1791),⁶⁵ had obtained sponsorship from the Danish King Frederick V (1746–1766) and prepared a list of scientific questions for the six-man expedition.⁶⁶

On Patrick's classification of fish, a key authority was *Zoophilacium Gronovianum* by Laurens Theodorus Gronovius (1730–1777),⁶⁷ son of the Dutch botanist, Jan Frederik Gronovius (1686–1762). Patrick's authority on insects was the French pharmacist, Etienne-Louis Geoffroy (1725–1810), who also followed Linnaeus's binomial nomenclature.⁶⁸

Not only did the Russells depend on written authorities to identify their own field collections but they also asked Bedouin around Aleppo about various species.⁶⁹ Patrick even studied specimens at the British Museum (Natural History) and at Sir Ashton Lever's Museum on his return from the Levant.⁷⁰ Furthermore, *Aleppo*² was published after Patrick had returned from India where he had been thoroughly absorbed in collecting information about plants, snakes,⁷¹ fishes and other species, using Linnaean classification. From India, Patrick had forwarded important herbarium collections to Banks. Both before and after 1794 he was producing a series of excellent illustrated volumes, sponsored by EIC.⁷² Whilst he did not mention his own expertise in *Aleppo*², the wealth of his experience in natural history ensured superlative presentation. As Everard Home acknowledged:

While he paid due attention to the description and nomenclature of plants and of animals, he never failed to attend also their peculiar habits and to the useful purposes, if any, to which they might be applied. The discrimination of noxious from harmless serpents was a service done not merely to science in general but to every individual who had occasion to visit tropical climates.⁷³

⁶⁵ Irwin, *Lust of knowing*, 130–3.

⁶⁶ Johann David Michaelis, like Alexander, corresponded with Linnaeus. Michaelis used early sources, especially Bochart, alongside Niebuhr's research, to produce *Recueil de questions* (1763; Amsterdam: S.J. Baalde. 1774) (cited *Aleppo*², i, 361, 408) and *Spicilegium geographiae hebraeorum exterae post Bochartum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1769–1780).

⁶⁷ Laurentius Theodorus Gronovius, *Zoophilacium Gronovianum* (Leiden: Theodorum Haak et al., 1763–1781), cited in *Aleppo*², ii, 208, 210–11. Gronovius also translated *Aleppo* into Dutch 4.

⁶⁸ Etienne-Louis Geoffroy, *Histoire abrégée (sic) des insectes qui se trouvent aux environs de Paris* (Paris: Durand, 1762), cited in *Aleppo*², ii, 233.

⁶⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, 208.

⁷⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 162–3. This vast collection of natural history was sold by lottery in 1786 and dispersed.

⁷¹ The Russell's viper, *Daboia russelii*, is named after him.

⁷² See bibliography for a full list.

⁷³ [Home?], 'Memoirs', 8; *The Scots Magazine* (November 1811), 910.

In order to appreciate Patrick's use of earlier natural histories, a case study about stimulants will be provided below. This will be the first time that Patrick's authorities on the subject have been examined in any detail.

6.2.1 A case study on stimulants

The Russells explored the medical benefits, social uses and problems caused by a range of stimulants, including tobacco, coffee,⁷⁴ and wine in Aleppo.⁷⁵ Patrick citing Sale's *Koran*, recorded that games of hazard and wine were prohibited under Islam.⁷⁶ Furthermore, Patrick reckoned that *qat* was a third species of coffee.⁷⁷ Patrick used many travellers' accounts in his discussion, even citing those who had travelled further east such as the Dutch merchant Jan Huyghen van Linschoten (1563–1611) who found no tobacco in the East Indies in 1584.⁷⁸

Hot, unsweetened coffee and tobacco were consumed from adolescence by both men and women, throughout the day and even at night.⁷⁹ By the time Alexander was in Aleppo he found that 'tobacco is smoked to excess by all the men, and many of the women of Aleppo'.⁸⁰ Patrick described various modes of smoking and the ways smoke is drawn into the lungs,⁸¹ including the Persian water-pipe (*kalyan*) rather than the *nargileh* (Figure 9).⁸² On his death, Patrick owned both a Persian and a Turkish *hookah* (water pipe) and specimens of pipe bowls from Aleppo and Egypt.⁸³ Taking snuff became fashionable, especially after 1753. As a result, the Porte imposed a

⁷⁴ Coffee was exported to Europe from Aleppo from the 1650s but replaced around 1730 by West Indian coffee. Egypt had previously obtained all supplies from Mocha and exchanged coffee for cloth in Cairo. On Volney and the coffee trade, Starkey, 'Shipwrecks, coffee and canals: the landscapes of Suez', in Janet Starkey, Paul Starkey and Tony Wilkinson (eds), *Natural resources and cultural connections of the Red Sea* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007), 173–82.

⁷⁵ Tobacco is mentioned seven, coffee ten and wine six times in *Aleppo*¹; 38, 60 and 24 times respectively in *Aleppo*².

⁷⁶ Sale, *Koran*, ch. V. 94 and chap ii, 25 (*Aleppo*², i, 385).

⁷⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 373.

⁷⁸ *Aleppo*², i, 377. 'Pirard de la Val', in Purchas, *Hakluytus posthumus*''.

⁷⁹ *Aleppo*¹, 80–81. Also adapted by Johnson in *Literary Magazine* 1 (1756), 80–84.

⁸⁰ *Aleppo*¹, 79.

⁸¹ *Aleppo*², i, 124, 155, 385. Patrick cited Engelbert Kaempfer's *Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-medicae* (Leipzig: Henrici Wilhelmi Meyeri, 1712), a description of a tour between 1683 and 1693 to Persia and beyond, which contains useful medical observations.

⁸² *Aleppo*², i, 119–26, 166, 168–9, 176–7, 185.

⁸³ Squibb, *Catalogue*, 60.

duty on Rappee snuff⁸⁴ after 1760 and granted a monopoly for making and selling it in Aleppo.⁸⁵

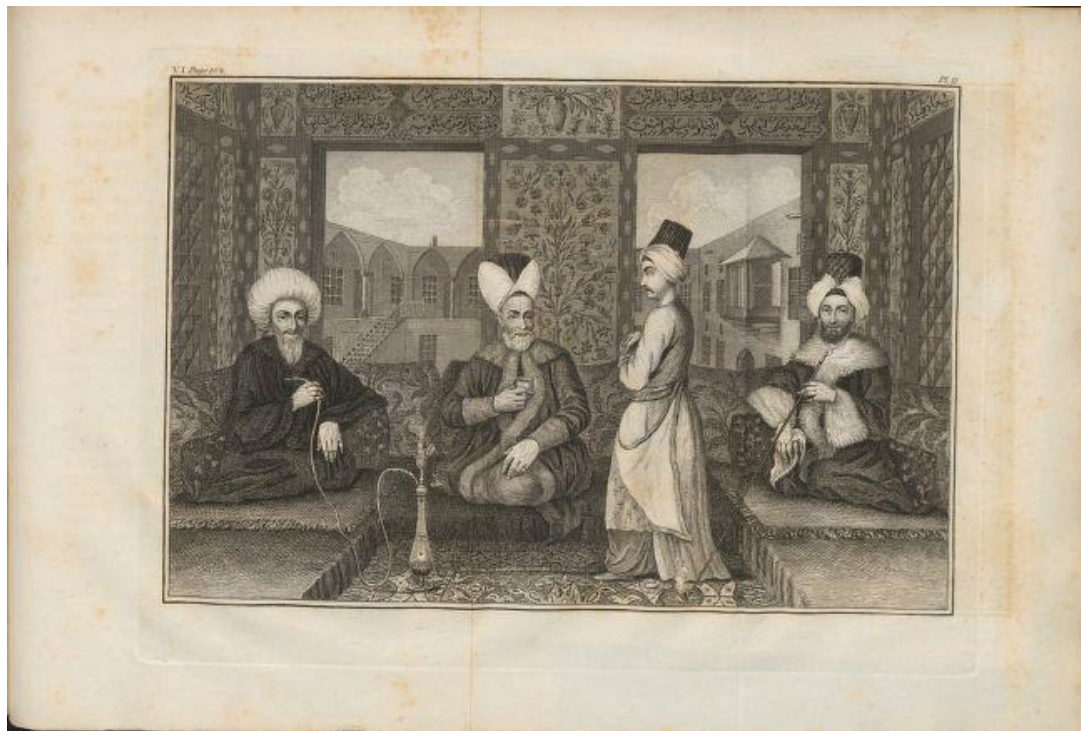


FIGURE 9. From left, a *kādī* smoking a *kalian* (water pipe *qalyān*); a *sardār* (*aga* of the Janissaries), a page boy and a *bashaw* smoking a pipe (*Aleppo*², i, 102–4).

Patrick shared an interest in coffee with many others who lived in Aleppo. Edward Pococke translated a tiny medical tract, *The Nature of the drink Kauhi*.⁸⁶ This was probably a joke on Pococke's part: coffee drinking was thought by some to be an indication of his pro-Muslim sympathies, but he had become addicted to coffee-drinking while in Aleppo, and a later palsy in his hand was ascribed to this addiction.⁸⁷ Sandys discussed the topic of coffee, citing, for his authority, *The Vertues of coffee*⁸⁸ by Francis Bacon (1561–1626) — but neither source on coffee is included in *Aleppo*². There were a series of other texts about the medical benefits of coffee in the seventeenth century including *A brief description of the excellent*

⁸⁴ Rappee snuff: 'a type of coarse snuff' (ODE), It is pungent and made from dark tobacco.

⁸⁵ *Aleppo*², i, 126.

⁸⁶ Dā'ūd ibn 'Umar Anṭākī, *The Nature of the drink Kauhi, or Coffe, and the berry of which it is made*, transl. Edward Pococke (Oxford: Henry Hall, 1659).

⁸⁷ Edward Pococke, *The theological works*, 2 vols (London: R. Gosling, 1740), i, 80.

⁸⁸ (London, 1663).

*vertues of that sober and wholesome drink, called coffee.*⁸⁹ In 1699 Galland translated a manuscript in the King's Library, Paris, about the legality of drinking coffee according to Islamic law⁹⁰ that he called *De l'origine et du progrès du café*.⁹¹ The original Arabic manuscript has been identified as *Umdat al-safwah fī hill al-qahwah* (1587) by ʿAbd al-Qadir al-Jazīrī (fl.1558)⁹² and was probably the earliest history of coffee. Subsequently, Fothergill popularized the use of coffee in England and promoted its cultivation in the West Indies.⁹³

The Spanish introduced tobacco into Europe about 1518 yet even in the mid-1570s, Biddulph⁹⁴ makes no mention of tobacco in the Levant. Sir George Sandys (1578–1644) was the first traveller to mention smoking tobacco when he visited Constantinople in 1610;⁹⁵ he described drinking 'coffa'.⁹⁶ Sandys suggested that the habit of pipe-smoking probably came from Constantinople to the Syrian provinces whilst the habit of using a water pipe (Persian: *qalyān*, *nargileh*. Syrian Arabic: *nafas*) came to Aleppo from Persia.⁹⁷ In the Ottoman empire physicians initially prescribed tobacco to treat many ailments. Patrick mentioned *Tabacologia* by Johann Neander, a physician from Bremen,⁹⁸ who recommended the medical use of tobacco in recipes, but warned against its recreational abuse. Until the eighteenth century, tobacco smoking was praised as an anti-plague measure in Europe but, by the middle of the century, physicians could find few medical benefits.

Patrick perused travelogues (including that of Cartwright) for evidence of the early consumption of tobacco and coffee.⁹⁹ In his book, *The plants of Egypt*,¹⁰⁰ the Italian physician and botanist Prosper Alpinus makes no mention of tobacco in the Levant though in 1580 he saw coffee plants brought from Arabia growing in Cairo

⁸⁹ Anon., *A brief description of the excellent vertues of that sober and wholesome drink, called coffee* (London: Paul Greenwood, 1674).

⁹⁰ *Aleppo*², i, 372.

⁹¹ Recently reissued (Paris: Éditions La Bibliothèque, 1992).

⁹² Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Ms. arabe 4590.

⁹³ Fothergill, *Works*, 279–332.

⁹⁴ *Aleppo*², i, 230, 375, 410.

⁹⁵ Sandys, *Sandys travells* (London: Rob. Clavel et al., 1670), 52 (*Aleppo*², i, 375).

⁹⁶ Sandys, *Relation of a journey*.

⁹⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 375.

⁹⁸ Johann Neander, *Tabacologia* (Leiden: Isaaci Elzeviri, 1622) (*Aleppo*², i, 373, 378).

⁹⁹ John Cartwright, *Preacher's travels*, in Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations*, iii, 482–523.

¹⁰⁰ Belon du Mans, *De plantis Aegypti liber* (Venice: Franciscum de Franciscis Senensem, 1592) (*Aleppo*², i, 374).

and, in 1592, provided the first European printed description of coffee (*bon*) and the drink (*caova*). Guillaume Postel (1510–1581) mentions entertaining strangers but not coffee; nor did he refer to tobacco when he visited Turkey in 1540.¹⁰¹ In 1657 Blount wrote a foreword to Judge Walter Rumsey's *Organon salutis*, the first detailed account in English of coffee, describing it as that 'physick' which the Turks use for preventing 'Consumption' and 'Lethargie', 'Rickets in Children', and 'Stone and Gout'.¹⁰² Instead, Patrick refers the reader to 'La Rocque, A Voyage to Arabia the Happy, 232. (London 1726.)',¹⁰³ John Ellis's *Account of coffee*, Lond. 1774)¹⁰⁴ and J-Douglas, *History of coffee* (Lond. 1727)',¹⁰⁵ Ellis and Douglas were, coincidentally, personal acquaintances of the Russells.¹⁰⁶ Patrick also mentioned medical texts by two physicians from Orléans, Etienne-François Geoffroy (1672–1731) and Louis Arnault de Nobleville (1676–1733), *Traité de la matière médicale*¹⁰⁷ on coffee and their *Suite de la matière médicale* on tobacco.¹⁰⁸ Papers on the effects of coffee were published in the *Philosophical Transactions*.¹⁰⁹ In the 1730s, George Cheyne (1671–1743) suggested that a third of all disorders were nervous due to a growing abuse of stimulants and intoxicants which were increasingly being consumed in Europe,¹¹⁰ including opiates, tobacco, tea, and coffee, cordials, and opium.

Not only did the Russells comment on the medical effects of these stimulants, but they provided socio-cultural information about their consumption. Commodities of pleasure, such as tobacco and coffee, entered Aleppine social life after the fifteenth century and greatly affected its cultural and political landscape. It was

¹⁰¹ Guillaume Postel, *De la république des Turcs* (1559 : Poitiers: E. de Marnef, 1560) (*Aleppo*², i, 372, 374). Irwin, *Lust of Kinowing*, 66–67.

¹⁰² W[alter] R[umsey]. *Organon salutis* (London: D. Pakeman, 1659).

¹⁰³ Jean de la Roque, *A voyage to Arabia the Happy* (London: G. Strahan et al., 1726). His father was a merchant who introduced coffee to Marseille in 1644.

¹⁰⁴ John Ellis, *An historical account of coffee* (London: E. and C. Dilly, 1774).

¹⁰⁵ *Arbor Yemensis fructum cofè ferens* (London: T. Woodward, 1727) by James Douglas, FRS. His study of John Ray remains unpublished.

¹⁰⁶ *Aleppo*², 373.

¹⁰⁷ Estienne-François Geoffroy, Arnault de Nobleville, François Salerne, *Traité de la matière médicale* (Paris: J. Desaint et al., 1743), iii, 248 (*Aleppo*², i, 373).

¹⁰⁸ Estienne-François Geoffroy, Louis Daniel Arnault de Nobleville, *Histoire naturelle des animaux* (Paris: Desaint et Saillant, 1750), i, 172 (*Aleppo*², i, 372).

¹⁰⁹ Hans Sloane, 'An account of a prodigiously large feather of the bird Cuntur, brought from Chili, and supposed to be a kind of vultur; and of the coffee-shrub', *Philosophical Transactions* 18 (1694), 61–64; John Houghton, 'A discourse of coffee', *Philosophical Transactions* 21 (1699), 311–7.

¹¹⁰ George Cheyne, *The English malady* (London: G. Strahan, 1733).

always the wider aspects of plants that occupied the Russells as physicians: not only searching for exotic new species but also interested in their classification and scientific experimentation.

6.3 The influence of Linnaeus

During the Enlightenment, natural history became specimen-orientated, with many plants being collected in this new period of exploration which in turn stimulated the taxonomy of plants. The *Aleppo*¹ edition, third chapter of the 1757 version and *Aleppo*², ii, was full of detail about birds, animals (domestic and wild), trees and flowers. Alexander used a wide range of natural history authorities in the 1756 edition but even a cursory look at their various classification schemes reveals how confusing they had become. He admitted that ‘neither my time, nor knowledge in botany, even though assisted by my brother [Patrick], who had a great deal more of both, were equal to the task of making a compleat list of all the plants growing round Aleppo.’¹¹¹ *Aleppo*¹, on the other hand, was written just before the Swedish botanist, Carolus von Linnaeus (1707–1778), established the binomial classification of plants, quadrupeds, fish, and so on: though Alexander, like Mead, corresponded with Linnaeus.¹¹²

Linnaeus was influential in laying down principles for defining genera and species of organisms and creating a uniform system for naming and classifying them.¹¹³ In 1737 Linnaeus published *Genera plantarum* that he dedicated to Boerhaave.¹¹⁴ In the following year, encouraged by Boerhaave (who was Clifford’s physician), and on the recommendation of the Leiden physician and botanist, Jan Frederik Gronovius (1686–1762), Linnaeus published *Hortus Cliffortianus*,¹¹⁵ for the wealthy Anglo-Dutch financier, George Clifford III (1685–1760). This masterpiece

¹¹¹ *Aleppo*¹, 29–30.

¹¹² Linnean Society of London, Archives. Letter from Carl Linnaeus to Alexander Russel L2316 (20 March 1758); Letters from Alexander Russel to Carl Linnaeus L2362 (22 June 1757); L2370 (2 June 1758), L2376 (19 July 1758) (LS, XII, 390–4).

¹¹³ Linnaeus, *Systema naturae*, cited *Aleppo*², ii, 146; idem, *Corollarium Generum Plantarum* (Leiden: [s.n.], 1737); idem, *Species plantarum* (Holmiae: impensis L. Salvii, 1753).

¹¹⁴ Linnaeus, *Genera plantarum eorumque characteres naturales secundum numerum* (Leiden: [s.n.], 1737).

¹¹⁵ Linnaeus, *Hortus Cliffortianus* (Amsterdam, [s.n.], 1738) [dated 1737].

was illustrated by Ehret, who was later to be Alexander's illustrator.¹¹⁶ Based in Amsterdam, Clifford used his position as a Director of the Dutch East India Company¹¹⁷ to obtain exotic plants from around the world for his famous herbarium and garden at Hartekamp, near Haarlem.¹¹⁸ In 1751 Linnaeus published *Philosophia botanica*,¹¹⁹ and in 1753 he published *Species plantarum*.¹²⁰ It was through these publications, amongst others, that Linnaeus introduced the consistent use of binomial names for flora (publishing over 9,000 plant names) and fauna. Specimens collected by the Russells are mentioned by Linnaeus. Robert Brown records that:–

This fourth subgenus is established on HYPOXIS FASCICULARIS, a plant which has been seen by very few botanists, and which Linnaeus introduced into his *Species plantarum*, and referred to as Hypoxis, solely on the authority of the figure published in Dr. Russell's History of Aleppo. In the Banksian Herbarium I have examined part of the original specimen of this species, found by Dr. Alexander Russell, and figured by Ehret in the work referred to,¹²¹ as well as more perfect specimens collected by Dr. Patrick Russell; and am satisfied that its ovary is not in any degree adherent to the tube of the perianthium.¹²²

After his death, Alexander was commemorated by the plant *Russelia Jacq*; there is a Mexican plant, Firecracker Plant, *Russelia equisetiformis*, named after Alexander and Linnaeus even named an Alyssum in his honour.¹²³ Linnaeus's description of a fish called *Silurus cous* (renamed *Glyptothorax cous*) was based on a description of a specimen sent by Alexander to Gronovius and another was donated to the British Museum by Alexander on 8 July 1758.¹²⁴ Although Alexander corresponded with

¹¹⁶ Wilfrid Blunt, *The compleat naturalist* (London: Collins, 1971), 106–7.

¹¹⁷ Probably George Clifford I (1623–1680), George Clifford II (1657–1727) and the Russells' uncle, Andrew Russell, would have been acquainted through the kirk and their businesses in Rotterdam, Barbados, and Surinam. Murdoch, *Network North*, 115.

¹¹⁸ Blunt, *Compleat naturalist*, 102–8, 116–8.

¹¹⁹ Linnaeus, *Philosophia botanica* (Stockholm, [s.n.], 1751).

¹²⁰ Linnaeus, *Species plantarum*.

¹²¹ George Dionysius Ehret, FRS, 'An account of a species of Ophris, supposed to be the plant, which is mentioned by Gronovius in the *Flora virginica*', *Philosophical Transactions* 53 (1763), 81–83. Patrick even owned a copy of Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, *Flora virginica* (Leiden: [s.n.], 1762).

¹²² Robert Brown, 'Botanical Appendix', in Dixon Denham, Hugh Clapperton, Walter Oudney (comp.), *Narrative of travels and discoveries in northern and central Africa* (Boston, Cummings, Hilliard, 1826), 89.

¹²³ '*A. russellii* Banks & Sol. 1794, in Russell, Nat. Hist. Aleppo, ed. 2, 2: 260 - *Poterion* - Holotype: Aleppo, A. Russell'; Tournefort [= *A. christianus* L.]; Russel, natur. hist. of Aleppo, 1766: 51, tab. V. [= *A. russellii* Banks & Sol.]. Lectotype (PODLECH 1998): Russel, natur. hist. of Aleppo, 1777: 5a, tab. V (*A. russellii* Banks & Sol.). *russellii* Banks & Sol. 1794, in [*Aleppo*², ii, 260] - *Poterion* - Holotype: Aleppo, A. Russell. Lues vener[e]a = Venereal disease, syphilis or an acute and chronic infectious disease.

¹²⁴ Gunnar Broberg, *Linnaeus* (Almqvist and Wiksell, 1980), 202.

Linnaeus, he was unable to revise his own work in the light of this contact before he died.

If a single set of necessary and sufficient conditions using binary characteristics are used as the essential criteria, such a system is called monothetic, and was essentially the system used by Linnaeus. If a number of shared characteristics are used, such a system can be termed polythetic, the type of system that can be associated with Buffon whose local classification practices was based on a set of traits relating to specific instances. A literary sensation at the time, Buffon's *L'Histoire naturelle*¹²⁵ was infused by his dispute with Linnaeus over the validity of classification systems. Buffon claimed that only species were valid whilst other aspects of Linnaeus's system (kingdoms, genera, etc.) were made up. The Scottish encyclopaedist, William Smellie, FRS, FAS (1740–1795)¹²⁶ and an Edinburgh 'man of letters' moving in the same circles as the Russells there, translated Buffon's ideas into English in his own words in the *Selections from Natural history, general and particular, by the Count de Buffon*, published in Edinburgh in 1781. Smellie sometimes disagreed with Buffon so introduced Linnaeus' system of classification and nomenclature into his text. In *Aleppo*², Patrick acknowledged the authorities of Buffon and Linnaeus.¹²⁷

6.3.1 Linnaean terminology

Bliss commented that *Aleppo* was 'noteworthy for its carefully prepared list of the Oriental names applicable to the flora of the East.'¹²⁸ In the 1794 edition Patrick converted botanical names using more refined Linnaean terminology for botanical specimens, updating the earlier Linnaean terms used in the first edition. 'P. Russell' is the official botanic abbreviation for Patrick.

Cook's various voyages around the world stimulated much interest in natural history. Voyager-naturalists such as Banks and Solander were an integral part of such

¹²⁵ Buffon, *Histoire naturelle*.

¹²⁶ William Smellie, a printer with Messrs Murray and Cochrane until 1765. His patron was Lord Kames. Stephen W. Brown, 'William Smellie and the printer's role in the eighteenth-century Edinburgh book trade,' in Peter Isaac and Barry McKay (eds), *The human face of the book trade* (Winchester: St Paul's Bibliographies, 1999), 29–44).

¹²⁷ There are twenty-nine references to Buffon and over eighty-seven to Linnaeus in *Aleppo*².

¹²⁸ Frederick Jones Bliss, *The development of Palestine exploration* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1906), 154.

expeditions. They collected specimens and wrote accounts of their travels.¹²⁹ More new specimens were introduced and travel narratives became increasingly popular. After Patrick returned to London in 1772, Patrick was introduced to Banks, the ‘great panjandrum of British science in the period’¹³⁰ and Solander, one of the ablest of Linnaeus’s students in Uppsala, who had recently returned from Captain James Cook’s first voyage on ‘HMS Endeavour’ that circumnavigated the world between August 1768 and June 1771.¹³¹ Banks corresponded with Linnaeus, and was a key member of a formidable number of societies including the Society of Dilettanti; President of the Royal Society for thirty years until 1820,¹³² and of the Royal Society Club from 1788 to 1810; advisor on the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew; Trustee of the British Museum; the Society of Antiquaries, and founder of the Africa Association.¹³³ Patrick began sending specimens to Banks while he was still in Aleppo, some of which can still be identified in Bank’s herbarium.¹³⁴ Indeed, Banks had significant impact on Patrick’s subsequent career, as is reflected in Patrick’s research on *tabashīr*, an established source of silica, for example.¹³⁵ In 1775, collections made by Alexander and Patrick were sent to Banks, about the same time as collections made by many of Alexander’s associates, including those of the Scottish naturalist James Lee (1715–1795) of Hammersmith, the famous nurseryman

¹²⁹ Fothergill patronised many, including botanical illustrator, Sydney Parkinson, on the ‘Endeavour’’s voyage to the Pacific in 1768. John Gascoigne, *Joseph Banks and the English Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 77–79.

¹³⁰ Patrick owned a copy of Bank’s *Catalogus bibliothecae historico-naturalis Josephi Banks*, comp. Jonas Dryander, 5 vols (London: Gul. Bulmer, 1796–1800). H.C. Cameron, *Sir Joseph Banks, the autocrat of the philosophers* (London: Batchworth Press, 1952); Garland H. Cannon, ‘Sir William Jones, Sir Joseph Banks, and the Royal Society’, *Notes and Records of the Royal Society* 29/2 (1975), 205–30.

¹³¹ Bengt Jonsell, ‘Linnaeus and his two circumnavigating apostles’, *Proceedings of the Linnean Society of New South Wales* 106/1 (1982), 1–19. Roy Anthony Rauschenberg, ‘Daniel Carl Solander, naturalist on the “Endeavour”’, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 58/8 (1968), 1–66.

¹³² *Aleppo observed*, 66–67.

¹³³ Cameron, *Sir Joseph Banks*.

¹³⁴ Sydenham Edwards (ed.), ‘Euphorbia pungens. *Herb. Banks. Exemplar à P. Russell MD montibus Syriae lectum*’ *The Botanical register* 4 (1818), 274.

¹³⁵ For example. Patrick, ‘An account of the Tabasheer. In a letter from Patrick Russell, MD FRS to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart.’, *Philosophical Transactions* 80 (1790), 273–83; 16 (1790), 653. Patrick owned specimens of large joints of bamboo probably associated with his article (Squibb, *Catalogue*, 57: 5). James Louis Macie ran scientific experiments on the ‘Hyderabad Tabasheer’ (*tabashir*), based on samples sent to him by Patrick; Macie, ‘An account of some chemical experiments on Tabasheer’, *Philosophical Transactions* 81 (1791), 368–88.

James Gordon (d.1780) of Mile End and Pitcairn in Islington. Clifford's herbarium, which had been drawn by Ehret (Figure 10), was acquired by Banks in 1786.¹³⁶ Banks's Herbarium remains the second major historical collection in the Botanical Department of the Natural History Museum, London.

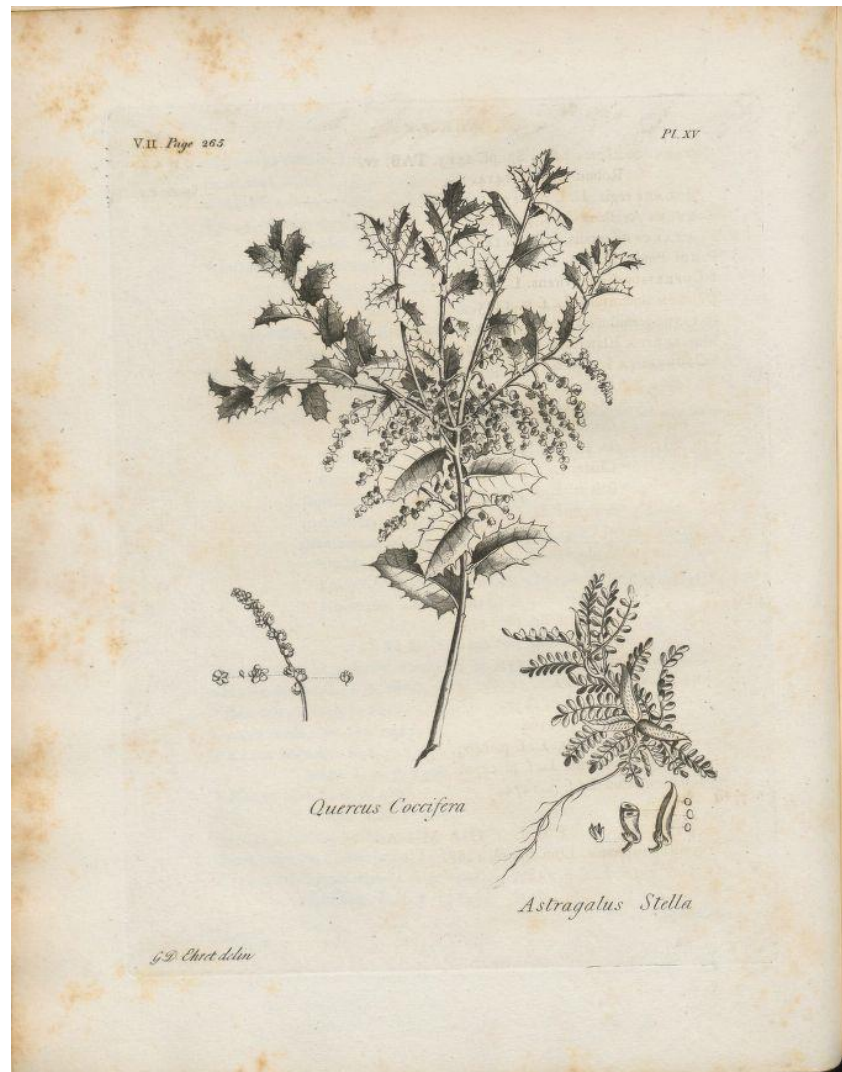


FIGURE 10. Examples of Ehret's illustrations (Plate XV, *Aleppo*², ii, 265)

The specimens brought back to England are identified in *Aleppo*² in the impressive catalogue of plants, listed and cross referenced with Latin names using Linnaeus's system.¹³⁷ The botanical chapter, substantially revised by Patrick in the later edition of 1794, was rewritten using Linnaean terminology provided by Banks

¹³⁶ British Museum (Natural History), *The history of the collections contained in the Natural History Departments of the British Museum* (London: British Museum, 1904–1912), i, 82.

¹³⁷ *Aleppo*², ii, 242–71.

and Solander. With Patrick, they studied the large collection of specimens¹³⁸ that Alexander and Patrick had brought back from Syria, as Patrick acknowledged.¹³⁹ Solander wrote descriptions and provided binomial names for several of the fish specimens. There is a pencil note at the top of Chapter V in their copy of *Aleppo*², held by Kew Gardens, that says: ‘the authors of Chapter V are Banks and Solander (See Preface (*Aleppo*²], i, p viii) to whom the new species should be ascribed, and not to P Russell’. This statement is not acceptable for, although Solander and Banks made a substantial contribution, it underestimates Patrick’s own research and substantial expertise. Even in recent publications associated scientific names are identified as ‘Banks & Solander in Russell 1794’,¹⁴⁰ as ‘Banks & Sol in Russell’ or as ‘Solander in Russell’.¹⁴¹ In addition, the *CRC World Dictionary of Grasses*, for example, refers to *Aleppo*², ii, 244, with reference to *Nardurus subulatus* (Sol. Ex. Russell) and *Triticum subulatum* (Banks & Sol., *Triticum subulatum* (Sol. Ex. P. Russell)).¹⁴² Furthermore, footnotes indicate that Patrick was still working on the text of the relevant chapters after Solander’s death in 1782. Patrick was adding more data about further specimens from Aleppo as late as 1792.¹⁴³

Figure 11, at the end of this chapter, reflects the rapidly changing and complex world of botanic classifications in the eighteenth century. It is based on the selection of just one page of *Aleppo*¹ but even this small sample should provide fascinating insights into the study of plants during the eighteenth century. However, the first edition of *Aleppo* was written at a time when Linnaean systems were just being accepted. It is clear from the right-hand columns that by 1794 Patrick, with the help of Banks and Solander, had adopted the Linnaean system taxonomies and that many of the names used by Patrick are still in use today.

¹³⁸ Now in the Natural History Museum, London.

¹³⁹ London: British Library. Patrick’s letters to Sir Joseph Banks, Add. MSS 33977–33979; India Office Library collections, Patrick’s catalogue of plants, MS Eur E. 54.

¹⁴⁰ Abdorahim Pazira et al., ‘Age structure and growth of the Mesopotamian Spiny Eel, *Mastacembelus mastacembelus* (Banks & Solander in Russell, [1794]) (Mastacembelidae), in southern Iran’, *Zoology in the Middle East* 35 (2005), 43–48.

¹⁴¹ Hamid Reza Esmaceli and Brian W. Coad, ‘Range extension for *Mystus pelusius* (Solander in Russell, 1794) (Actinopterygii: Bagridae) in southern Iran’, *Zoology in the Middle East* 34 (2005), 112–4.

¹⁴² Umberto Quattrocchi, *CRC world dictionary of grasses* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC/Taylor & Francis, 2006), 1230.

¹⁴³ *Aleppo*², ii, 209 refers to Volney’s *Travels* about acquiring a new specimen from Aleppo in 1792.

In order to try to make sense of Alexander's nomenclatures some background will be needed. Linnaeus's predecessors included the Swiss botanist, Gaspard Bauhin (1560–1624).¹⁴⁴ In *Pinax theatri botanici* Gaspard described around 6,000 plants and used a diagnostic classification system based on groups such as 'shrubs', and on their use, such as 'spices'. His system was similar to Linnaeus's later binomial nomenclature and many of the terms he used for *genera* were subsequently used by Linnaeus. His brother, Johann Bauhin (1541–1613), a physician, produced *Historia plantarum universalis*, a great compilation of all that was then known about botany. Linnaeus, in his *Classes Plantarum* (1738) and *Philosophia botanica* (1751), outlined some of the earlier classification systems, the most important contributions for him being those by Ray and Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708). Ray's system was based on a range of characteristics, including the type of fruit and elements of the seeds and was thus difficult to use.¹⁴⁵ Ray's *Historia Plantarum* is still used as a catalogue for Sir Hans Sloane's botanical collections in the Natural History Museum. Ray classified plants based on actual observation, and he was the first to use the idea of species: principles later adopted by Linnaeus and now incorporated into modern taxonomy. The French naturalist, Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708), author of *Institutiones rei herbariae*, based his system on the forms of the corolla, and was the first to clearly define the concept of 'genus' (as against species) for plants. Although Tournefort's classification was completely artificial, a step backwards from Ray's system, it was eloquent and influential. Tournefort's *Voyage du Levant*¹⁴⁶ was published posthumously.

Alexander no doubt adapted the abbreviations used in *Aleppo* from an unnumbered note entitled 'An explanation of the author's names', in Philip Miller FRS, *The Gardeners Dictionary*, in which Miller based his classifications on those of Tournefort and Ray. First published in 1731, there were many editions with slight variations in the titles but the latest one Alexander could have consulted would have

¹⁴⁴ Patrick owned a 1771 edition of Gaspard Bauhin's *Histoire des plantes de l'Europe*, 2 vols (Lyon: Duplain, 1737).

¹⁴⁵ Blunt, *Compleat naturalist*, 243.

¹⁴⁶ Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*.

been the fourth edition.¹⁴⁷ Sloane's protégé, the Scottish botanist Miller, was the Superintendent of the Society of Apothecaries' Garden (now called the Chelsea Physic Garden) from 1722 to 1770 — a friend of Collinson — and related through marriage to Ehret.¹⁴⁸ Under Miller's supervision it became the most richly stocked garden of its type anywhere. Again there were connections with Holland for a seed exchange programme was established from 1682 with the Hortus Botanicus in Leiden that still continues. It was only in 1768 that Miller fully adopted the Linnaean system, though he used some of Linnaeus's genera in this fourth edition (1754).¹⁴⁹ Whilst revising *Aleppo* Patrick discussed various dried specimens sent back by Alexander from Aleppo with Miller, who at the time appeared to be satisfied with Alexander's methodology.¹⁵⁰

6.3.2 Gardens: collecting plants and seeds

Many of the Russells' medical friends were interested in collecting and cultivating plants, developing botanical gardens and keeping records on the weather.¹⁰⁹ In 1766, the botanist, John Hope, travelled from Edinburgh to visit Alexander and other Edinburgh colleagues in London to discuss plants and to visit English botanical gardens.¹⁵¹ Other graduates from Edinburgh who moved to London were keen botanists, plant collectors and gardeners. They included Pitcairn in London who was 'especially distinguished by his application to Botany and success in rearing scarce and foreign plants'¹⁵² and had a fine five-acre botanical garden in Upper Street, Islington 'second only in size and importance to Dr Fothergill's at Upton'.¹⁵³ Fothergill purchased the five-acre garden and glasshouses at Upton Park in 1762 where, with the help of Collinson, he cultivated thousands of species of rare plants,

¹⁴⁷ Philip Miller, *The gardeners' dictionary* (London: John and James Rivington, 1754). Robert Sweet's *Hortus britannicus* (London: J. Ridgway, 1827) proved useful to identify some of Patrick's sources.

¹⁴⁸ Ehret married Philip Miller's sister-in-law.

¹⁴⁹ Banks acquired Philip Miller's herbarium in 1774 (British Museum (Natural History), *History of the collections*, i, 82).

¹⁵⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 238.

¹⁰⁹ Fothergill published accounts of the weather in London from 1751 to 1754 in the *Gentleman's Magazine*: (Fothergill, *Works*, 147–240); Cleghorn, *Epidemical diseases*, also kept weather records.

¹⁵¹ John H. Harvey, 'A Scottish botanist in London in 1766', *Garden history* 9/1 (1981), 40–75.

¹⁵² London: The Royal Society GB 117 EC/1770/08; Previous Numbers: Cert III, 91; A05681, 'William Pitcairn MD of Warwick Court, Warwick Lane'.

¹⁵³ Munk, *Roll*, ii, 172–4.

including about 3400 species of conservatory plants, often accepting payment in rare plants from patients rather than levy a fee.¹⁵⁴ Whilst Banks rated Upton Park the best garden after Kew,¹⁵⁵ Solander and Ellis examined Fothergill's extensive collections in the 1760s and 1770s but they were later sold and became largely untraceable, making any of the Russells' donations of seeds or plants virtually untraceable today.¹⁵⁶

Rare and exotic botanical specimens, especially from abroad were prized by collectors in London. Many of the Russells' friends became avid collectors and established private gardens, and the Russells supplied several reputable nurserymen with seeds. In 1754, Alexander sent seeds of an elegant shrub, *Arbutus Andrachne* (a strawberry tree) that he had collected in Syria, to Fothergill,¹⁵⁷ as well as to the American Colonies.¹⁵⁸ Alexander's friend Collinson successfully germinated seeds in his famous gardens at Peckham and Mill Hill, as did the well-known seed-merchant and gardener, James Gordon of Mile End. It flowered for the first time in Fothergill's garden at Upton Park in May 1766 and grew to twelve feet. Ehret gave a paper about the shrub at the Royal Society in 1767. Patrick and Claud supplied specimens to Kew Gardens.¹⁵⁹

When Linnaeus came to London in August 1736 he was bearing letters of introduction from Boerhaave to Sir Hans Sloane,¹⁶⁰ and for Sloane's friend, Collinson. On 12 May 1756 Collinson advised Linnaeus of the publication of *Aleppo*: 'Dr. Russel [sic], a very learned man, and master of all the Eastern languages spoken about Aleppo, has lately published the natural history of that city and country

¹⁵⁴ It later became part of the 77-acre West Ham Park, maintained by the City of London from 1874.

¹⁵⁵ Fox, *John Fothergill*, 184.

¹⁵⁶ A.E. Gunther, 'Matthew Maty', *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History)* (1987), 15–16.

¹⁵⁷ Listed in Lettsom, *Hortus Uptonensis* ([London], [s.n.], [1783?]), 18. The Russells' name does not appear in the catalogue, but there are several plants listed as 'Asiatic', a madder plant from 'Turkey' (possibly from Smyrna) on page 40 and a *Stachys* from Syria on page 41. Scammony is not listed in Lettsom's *Hortus Uptonensis*. G.D. Ehret, 'A description of the *Andrachne*, with its botanical characters', *Philosophical Transactions* 57 (1767), 114–17.

¹⁵⁸ *The London Chronicle* (May 1757), 501.

¹⁵⁹ Claud and Patrick donated: 1777 *Triandria Dignia Panicum repens*, cultivated in the East Indies, collected by Claud; 1778 *Ixia villofo* and *Pentandria Dignia Bupleurum* from the Cape of Good Hope; *Strychos Nux vomica porpurut* and *Pentandria Monogynia* from the East Indies (William Aiton, *Hortus kewensis* (London: G. Nicol, [1789]), 58, 123, 254, 297, 331).

¹⁶⁰ Sloane, Secretary of the Royal Society in 1693, President in 1727. Sloane's natural history collections became one of the founding collections of the British Museum (1759); Arthur MacGregor, 'Sloane, Sir Hans, Baronet (1660–1753)', *ODNB*.

about it; the nondescript plants all drawn by Mr. Ehret, in large 4to, price bound 17s.’¹⁶¹ Alexander addressed an article about fish to Collinson and another to Birch.¹⁶²

Linnaeus corresponded with Lee and Gordon who had been recommended to Linnaeus by merchant and naturalist John Ellis (1710–1776), and to whom Alexander sent back seeds from the Levant.¹⁶³ Collinson wrote to Linnaeus an addendum to his letter from London of 30 April 1758: ‘May 2d. I am now drinking coffee with Dr. Russell. He thanks you for your kind letter of the 20th of March, and will answer it as soon as possible. Mr. Ellis is with us, and gives his compliments. He is very industrious to procure you new materials for Natural History.’¹⁶⁴ On 21 July 1758 Ellis wrote to Linnaeus: ‘Doctor Russel [sic, that is Patrick in Aleppo] sends you a few seeds he lately received from Madras; and as soon as he receives any fresh ones from Aleppo, he will send you some.’¹⁶⁵ Gordon had a seed shop in Fenchurch Street and supplied other friends including enthusiastic Linnaeans, Collinson and Fothergill.¹⁶⁶ These exchanges of exotic seeds were not just a horticultural interest but were often part of searches for new therapeutics.

6.4 New therapeutics and experimental pharmacology

Although experimental pharmacology is thought to have developed in the nineteenth century, the Russells, like their colleagues in Edinburgh and London, were already searching for and exploring the dangers of exotic drugs, such as opium and Peruvian

¹⁶¹ In the same letter, Collinson mentions that Ehret had drawn the plants illustrated in Browne’s newly published *Natural history of Jamaica*; otherwise, ‘Mr. Ehret is fully employed with teaching the noble ladies to paint flowers, and has no time to spare’ (James Edward Smith, *Carl von Linné* (London: Longman, Hurst, Orme & Brown, 1821), 38–39).

¹⁶² Alexander Russell, ‘An account of four undescribed fishes of Aleppo’, *Philosophical Transactions* 49/2 (1756), 445–9; idem., ‘An account of a remarkable marine production’, *Philosophical Transactions* 52 (1761), 554–7.

¹⁶³ Alexander Russell, Walbrook, to John Ellis, 22 December 1766, quoted a letter from Mr. Fitzhugh, who was going to send Alexander a pot of seeds from Canton, China (Savage, *Calendar of the Ellis manuscripts*, iv, 29). Thomas Fitzhugh, a resident EIC merchant trading in Canton, later Director of the EIC from 1786 (National Archives of India, *Fort William-India House correspondence*, 21 volumes (Delhi: Government of India, 1949–1985), iv, 62). A letter from Alexander to Ellis about this ‘pot of fine “North China Seeds” which are for Kew’ is mentioned in a letter from Ellis to David Skene (Aberdeen University, MS 38/88).

¹⁶⁴ Smith, *Carl von Linné*, 45.

¹⁶⁵ Smith, *Carl von Linné*, 97.

¹⁶⁶ Corner and Booth, *Chain of friendship*, 302; Fox, *John Fothergill*, 193.

bark, and local medical plants and remedies.¹⁶⁷ This was part of a move away from Galenic preoccupations that had focused on the needs of individual patients towards specific remedies for particular diseases. Although Boerhaave had condemned the use of stimulants,¹⁶⁸ various physicians published studies comparing the comparative success of bleeding and cooling medicines, and of opium and the Peruvian bark on ‘contagious fevers’, including Cullen and Francis Home in Edinburgh;¹⁶⁹ or, like Fothergill, experimented with plants brought back by the Russells.

In *Aleppo*, plants and their properties are described, their natural environment identified and the benefits to health explained. Alexander provided the names of many plants and gave some delightful snippets of information. His approach was to provide brief details about their appearance and habitat and sometimes about their non-medical uses.¹⁷⁰ Given that Patrick’s interest in plants was primarily in what they might offer to medical treatments, he often added his own medical observations on the effects of particular plants.

Medicinal plants and herbs were brought back from the Levant at least as far back as the twelfth century but the Russells benefitted from long established pharmacological traditions and sent back dried specimens of medicinal plants, seeds and associated drawings to Britain, like many other medical colleagues around the world. Alexander sent botanical specimens in the form of seeds to his friends,¹⁷¹ including the true scammony (*Convolvulus scammonia* Linn.),¹⁷² collected from the mountains between Latakia (al-Lādhiqiyyah) and Aleppo.¹⁷³ Scammony was imported into Europe from Aleppo and Smyrna in the form of thin black cakes, the

¹⁶⁷ Andreas-Holger Maehle, *Drugs on trial* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1999), 127.

¹⁶⁸ Risse, *New medical challenges*, 178–80.

¹⁶⁹ John Millar, *Observations on the management of the prevailing diseases particularly in the Army and Navy* (London: for the author, 1779). Francis Home was experimenting with Peruvian bark at the Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh (Home, *Clinical experiments, histories, and dissections* (London: Murray, 1782)). Risse, *New medical challenges*, 178–9.

¹⁷⁰ *Aleppo*¹, 42, 26.

¹⁷¹ *Aleppo observed*, 127–33.

¹⁷² In *Aleppo*¹, 45–46, Alexander calls the plant *Convolvulus Syriacus*. *Scammonia Syriaca* CBP 294. Curiously, he refers to ‘Verticella ovifeera Lin.’ (*Aleppo*¹, 46), and refers to ‘A letter from Dr Alexander Russel to Dr John Fothergill, in White-Hart Court, Grace-Church-Street, describing the scammony plant’, *Medical Observations and Inquiries* 1 (1755 [1757]), 13–25. Fothergill combined calcined antimony, with aloes, scammony, and colocynth to produce a powerful purgative later called ‘Fothergill’s pills’.

¹⁷³ Dr Sigmond, ‘On scammony’, *The Lancet* 2 (1838), 649–51.

former being of better quality.¹⁷⁴ Alexander subsequently published a description of the plant, its medical properties and the local method of collecting it in Aleppo, in the first volume of *Medical Observations and Inquiries by a Society of Physicians*, issued in 1757.¹⁷⁵

The Russells were professionally interested in researching *materia medica*, and in searching for information about the therapeutic properties of plants that could be used for healing. Patrick reported *ipecacuanha* (*Psychotria ipecacuanha*), a genus of flowering plants from South America at the time included in the Rubiaceae family now called *Carapichea ipecacuanha*. Its roots were commonly mixed with opium to make syrup of ipecac. This is still used to treat accidental poisoning in emergencies to induce vomiting but its benefits are still being debated.¹⁷⁶ By the 1760s it was used in Syria as an emetic during the plague and to induce sweating.¹⁷⁷

Cleghorn devoted a complete chapter on ‘Peruvian bark’ which was used as treatment for tertian fevers, that is, fevers like malaria, characterized by febrile paroxysms occurring every third day.¹⁷⁸ Alexander found this authority provided some useful treatment and used bark to treat *Oca* or *goose*, a fever that effected new arrivals in Aleppo.¹⁷⁹ Alexander recommended its use as a preventive medicine for anyone exposed to the plague.¹⁸⁰ Patrick also commented on ‘Peruvian bark’ or the bark of the cinchona tree (genus *Cinchona* (Linn.) of the order *Rubiaceae*).¹⁸¹ Fothergill (encouraged by Benjamin Franklin) and Cleghorn¹⁸² encouraged Alexander to use it to treat endemic fevers. Patrick attempted to try out the effects of this bark in Aleppo but because of this clamour against the medicine ‘I found it prudent to desist’.¹⁸³ Its main principle, quinine, is now available in synthetic form and is still used as an anti-malarial drug.

¹⁷⁴ *Aleppo*¹, 45.

¹⁷⁵ Russell, ‘Scammony plant’, cited as 1758 (*Aleppo*², ii, 426).

¹⁷⁶ M. Shannon, ‘The demise of ipecac’, *Pediatrics* 112/5 (2003), 1180–1.

¹⁷⁷ Patrick Russell, *Treatise of the plague*, 150.

¹⁷⁸ Cleghorn, *Observations*, especially 203–36.

¹⁷⁹ *Aleppo*¹, 141; *Aleppo*², ii, 307.

¹⁸⁰ *Aleppo*¹, 261.

¹⁸¹ *Aleppo observed*, 127–8, 150, 175–6.

¹⁸² Cleghorn, *Observations*, 186, 189–90; *Aleppo*¹, 141.

¹⁸³ *Aleppo*², ii, 366.

Opium and hashish and other stimulants were used to dissipate melancholy¹⁸⁴ in Galenic tradition even though it was often attributed to mischief-making by evil spirits throughout the Ottoman world. Opium was recommended by Ibn Sīnā as the most powerful stupeficient; according to his *Kitāb al-Taṣrīf*, al-Zahrāwī used opium as a surgical anaesthetic;¹⁸⁵ by the eighteenth century, it was thought to be an effective remedy against nervous disorders. Opium, an insidiously active drug, was used to dull the senses during operations, numbing pain and exhilarating the spirits:

The immediate effect I have observed it to have on such as were addicted to the use of it, was that of exhilarating the spirits. From a relaxed, dull, depressed state, into which such persons, if they happened to pass the usual time of taking their opium, were apt to sink, they were roused at once by their dose, and became quite alert.

It is remarkable how soon a sudden noise, or any Other surprise dispels the power of the opium, even when at its height, throwing the wretched victim into a state of trepidation, from which nothing can recover him but a fresh dose.¹⁸⁶

These therapeutic uses of opium were gradually challenged as specific medicines were designed to treat particular diseases. Yet to forego the habit meant that ‘they suffer so much from low spirits, and a thousand hypochondriac evils, that they usually give up the attempt.’

Opium was widely used only in the seventeenth century in Europe and Patrick was aware of many treatises on the subject. For example, Patrick owned several copies of Thomas Sydenham’s *Works*¹⁸⁷ and recorded that Sydenham (1624-1689) used opium and laudanum for the treatment of smallpox in the seventeenth century. A professor in Marburg, Johann Waldschmied (b.c.1618), had published on the effects of lethal dosages in 1679 but careful dosages were difficult due to varying qualities of opium, some of which came from Turkey. He identified serious effects of habitual use that he had discovered in travellers’ reports of Turks, where addicts

¹⁸⁴ *Aleppo*², ii, 130. In the eighteenth century a range of terms including melancholy, hypochondria, spleen, vapours, low spirits etc. were used for a range of conditions what is now simply called depression. Depression was seen as being caused by humoral imbalances in the whole body whilst today it is seen as being due to a chemical imbalances in the brain.

¹⁸⁵ *Aleppo*², ii, 137, Appendix xi, xxix–xxx.; Dunlop, ‘Arabic medicine in England’, 181; Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic medicine*, 61; Boogert, ‘Patrick Russell’, 253–8, 263–4. Correspondence between William Hunter and Patrick of Aleppo ‘relating to Arabian writings’ in the Hunter collection in Glasgow.

¹⁸⁶ *Aleppo*², i, 125–31, 375–8.

¹⁸⁷ Thomas Sydenham, *Opera universa* (Leiden, 1726); idem., *Opera medica*, 2 vols (Geneva, 1736); idem., *The whole works of that excellent practical physician, Dr Thomas Sydenham* (London: J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, and F. Clay, 1729).

became torpid and comatose, that is, he was able to predict harm on the basis of his pharmacological studies.¹⁸⁸ In Edinburgh Charles Alson and Alexander Monro *secundus* published major studies on the subject. Cleghorn followed Boerhaave's *Aphorisms* and used opium as treatment for severe dysentery to mitigate pain.¹⁸⁹ Pitcairn used opium for fevers and especially enteric fever, even though the value of this new method of treatment was not then recognized.¹⁹⁰

The relative harm or benefits of opium were of concern to the Russells and other physicians in the region. These included the physician Englebert Kaempfer (1651–1716)¹⁹¹ in Persia and India, who described the effects. Alexander did not find that opium was in general use in Aleppo, unlike Constantinople and elsewhere and in Aleppo it was only practiced by 'debauchees' (*tiryāqī*). He described different ways of taking opium and the effects in detail: like hard drinking Europeans, addicts lose their memories 'and most of their intellectual faculties' and die looking old beyond their years.¹⁹²

The Russells were very much part of a sophisticated circle of physicians who were experimenting with new remedies for diseases they identified; in marked contrast to most physicians in the Ottoman empire who continued their traditional habits. There were many medicaments available in Aleppo, with intriguing long lists of ingredients including minerals, herbs and stimulants, but their efficacy was doubtful. Alexander commented on the Turkish term *teriack*, on the basis that its derivation may have come from a classical medical concoction '*Theriac. Andromach.*' This might have been the form in which opium was originally used.¹⁹³ A universal panacea, *Theriaca andromachi* or Venice Treacle was an electuary made from sixty-four ingredients, including opium and viper flesh, roots, plants, cinnamon, honey and gum arabic. From 1724 there were serious attempts to challenge the efficacy of *theriac*, especially after the English physician William Heberden (1710–

¹⁸⁸ Maehle, *Drugs on trial*, 141–4.

¹⁸⁹ Cleghorn, *Observations*, 250–5.

¹⁹⁰ Norman Moore, 'Pitcairn, William (1712–1791)', rev. Catherine Bergin, *ODNB*.

¹⁹¹ Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum*. Patrick used Kaempfer's description of music and dance but not opium (*Aleppo*², 155, 385).

¹⁹² *Aleppo*¹, 83–84.

¹⁹³ *Aleppo*¹, 83–84.

1801) published *Antithetica* in 1745, which was the first serious attack on its use.¹⁹⁴ However, in Aleppo, Patrick continued to use Venice Treacle (or Diascordium)¹⁹⁵ for fevers with diarrhoea, mixing it with diaphoretics, even though he must have been familiar with Heberden's influential pamphlet.¹⁹⁶ It is clear from Patrick's comments on *theriac* that he was ready to listen to local opinion about treatment.¹⁹⁷

Like Pringle, who found giving opium clysters (enemas) eased pain,¹⁹⁸ Patrick found that opiates were useful to relax patients and never found that they induced a coma. Patrick was obviously experimenting with various treatments whilst in Aleppo but whether or not Patrick knew the results of Pringle's research whilst he was still in Aleppo is uncertain. In addition, Patrick found that diaphoretics combined with opium were useful. However opium impairs the digestive organs and affects the vigour of the body as it gradually destroys mental energies. He described the effects of opium: at first obstinate costiveness followed by diarrhoea and flatulence with loss of appetite and a sottish appearance. The memory soon fails; opium-eaters become prematurely old and then die scorned and pitied. Patrick discusses opium cakes with reference to the *Universal histories*.¹⁹⁹ Patrick met 'Effendis' who made little attempt to justify their opium habit and described the debauchery of opium eaters.²⁰⁰

These brief examples raise many questions about the development of pharmacological expertise after the Russells left Edinburgh; the practical instruction Alexander might have received from Mackenzie in Constantinople; and pioneering elements of applied research in Aleppo. Presumably in the period when the brothers were working together in Aleppo from 1750, Alexander was able to teach Patrick

¹⁹⁴ William Heberden, *Antithetica, Essay on Mithridatium and Theriac* ([London?] 1745), bound in the *Royal College of Physicians Tracts* 6 (1745), 112. P. Griffin, 'Venetian treacle and the foundation of medicines regulation', *British Journal of Clinical Pharmacology* 58/3 (2004), 317–25. Patrick, using d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale* and a *Universal history* as his authority, argued that *theriac* was invented by 'Feridoun, one of the Persian Kings of the first Dynasty' (*Aleppo*², i, 378; ii, 133). Fereydun: a mythical hero who conquered the tyrant Zakhāk in Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmah*.

¹⁹⁵ Diascordium: electuary or opiate. It contained cinnamon, scordium leaves, roses, ginger and many other ingredients including opium (some later versions without opium). John Quincy, *Pharmacopoeia officinalis [et] extemporanea* (London: T. Longman, 1782), 475.

¹⁹⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 366. Diaphoretics: herbs to stimulate sweating. Many are listed in Quincy, *Pharmacopoeia*, 144–56.

¹⁹⁷ *Aleppo*², ii, 223. On *theriac*, see below

¹⁹⁸ Maehle, *Drugs on trial*, 162.

¹⁹⁹ *Aleppo*², i, 378.

²⁰⁰ *Aleppo*², ii, 126–9.

about local practice and the results of his own experiments but without their case-notes we have no further details. Patrick would have handed similar notes to his successor Freer. It would be useful to discover more about the Russells' experimentation with other new plants that they found around Aleppo, apart from those on which they published.

6.5 Conclusion

The study of botany and other aspects of natural history was not only a polite gentlemanly recreation that might have been included in *Aleppo* simply to enhance the Russells' reputations but relevant sections in the two editions of *Aleppo* also advanced scientific knowledge of the time and were medically useful. Whilst many of Alexander's descriptions make delightful impressions, his pre-Linnaean terminology makes for difficult reading. However, by adopting Linnaean terminology in *Aleppo*² Patrick placed his research in the mainstream of the developing natural sciences.

Patrick used terminology and nomenclatures that are still in current use today and helped to establish principles and practices of scientific research that continue to be relevant. However, his studies of flora and fauna were overtaken by extraordinary developments during the nineteenth century, when taxonomic studies continued at an ever-increasing pace as scientists attempted to classify the world. Britain's imperial status made it easier to organize collecting than it had been before the age of empire and led to an accumulation of many specimens, all of which had to be classified and preserved. Museums flourished in their attempts to establish comprehensive collections.²⁰¹

The scientific study of the natural history of the Enlightenment preceeded the Romantic period in European thought that began in the 1790s when *Aleppo*² was published. Nature, in Romantic thought, is a plethora of natural harmony, elegant landscapes and aesthetic beauty. It became cultural nostalgia for simpler times. In contrast to the sentimentality of such Romantic ideas, *Aleppo* belonged to a philosophical tradition located in the arena of mid-eighteenth-century scientific and

²⁰¹ Christina Alt, *Virginia Wolff and the study of nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1–37.

rational Enlightenment. The Russells were never merely natural scientists but embraced associated social, political and economic issues — and ‘pleasures of the imagination’, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

English description (<i>Aleppo</i> ¹ , 17)	Alexander's terms (<i>Aleppo</i> ¹ , 17)	Patrick's term (<i>Aleppo</i> ² , i, 74, 78)	Patrick's Arabic term (<i>Aleppo</i> ² , i, 74, 78)	Modern terms
small vetch	<i>Vicia minima cum siliquis glabris</i> Inst RH 397 ¹	<i>Vicia</i>	<i>kishna</i> (Arabic)	Genus <i>Vicia</i>
sesamunum [sesame]	—	<i>Sesamum Orientale</i>	<i>simsim</i> (Arabic)	<i>Sesamum indicum</i> (syn. <i>Sesamum orientale</i>)
ricinus [castor oil plant]	—	<i>Ricinus communis</i>	<i>khurwa</i> (Arabic)	<i>Ricinus communis</i>
hemp	—	<i>Cannabis saliva</i>	<i>khunbis</i> (Arabic)	<i>Cannabis sativa</i>
a green kidney bean called by the natives <i>mash</i> and much eat[en]	<i>Phaseolus minimus fructu virido ovato</i>	<i>Phaseolus</i> Max.	<i>maash</i> (Arabic)	<i>Phaseolus max</i> L. Synonym of <i>Glycine max</i> (L.) Merr.
musk melon	<i>Melo vulgaris</i> CBP 310 ²	<i>Cucumis Melo Linnaei</i>	<i>bateeh</i> (Arabic)	<i>Cucumis melo</i>
water melon	<i>Melo magnus cortice virente laevi semine parvo</i> JB i 244 ³	<i>Cucumis Citrullis</i>	<i>jibbes</i> (Arabic)	<i>Citrullus lanatus</i> (Thunb.), family Cucurbitaceae) Not to be confused with Colocynth (<i>Citrullus</i> , or <i>Cucumis</i> , <i>colocynthis</i>)
a small sort of cucumber called <i>ajour</i>	—	<i>Cucumis</i>	<i>ajoor</i> (Arabic)	cucumber (<i>Cucumis sativus</i>)
fennel flower	<i>Anguria citrullus dicta</i> CBP 312 <i>Nigella store minore</i>	<i>Nigella Saliva</i>	<i>hebt al-baraky</i> (Arabic)	Fennel (<i>Foeniculum vulgare</i>) Black cumin seed (<i>Nigella</i>

¹ Inst RH 397 = Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, *Institutiones rei herbariae* (1700; Paris: Typographia Regia, 1719), 397. This is the Latin translation of his earlier *Elémens de botanique, ou méthode pour connoître les plantes* (Paris: [s.n.], 1694).

² CBP: = Caspar Bauhinus, *Pinax theatri botanici* (1596; Basil: 1671), 310.

³ JB: = Johann Bauhin, *Historia plantarum universalis*, 3 vols (Yverdon-les-Bains: [s.n.], 1650–1651), i, 244.

English description (<i>Aleppo</i> ¹ , 17)	Alexander's terms (<i>Aleppo</i> ¹ , 17)	Patrick's term (<i>Aleppo</i> ² , i, 74, 78)	Patrick's Arabic term (<i>Aleppo</i> ² , i, 74, 78)	Modern terms
	<i>simplice candido</i> CBP 145 m			sativa) in English, <i>Nigella sativa</i> seed variously called fennel flower, nutmeg flower, Roman coriander, blackseed or black caraway.
fænu-greek	<i>Fænumgrezum sativum</i> CBP 348	<i>Trigonella Faenum</i> <i>Graecum</i>	<i>hulby</i> (Arabic)	<i>Trigonella foenum-</i> <i>graecum</i>
bastard saffron [safflower]	<i>Carthamus officinarum</i> <i>store croceolnst</i> RH 457 ⁴	<i>Carthamus Tinctorius</i>	<i>curtim</i> (Arabic)	<i>Carthamus tinctorius</i> L.
Turkey millet	—	Indian millet: <i>Holcus</i> <i>Sorghum</i>	<i>durra</i> (Arabic)	Pearl millet (<i>Pennisetum</i> <i>glaucum</i>) <i>Holcus sorghum</i> (Herb Linn) Synonym of <i>Sorghum bicolor</i> (L.)
tobacco	<i>Nicotiana major latifolia</i> CBP 169 D	<i>Nicotiana Tabacum</i>	<i>tutton</i> (Arabic)	<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i> ,

FIGURE 11. Comparing a small group of the many botanical terms used by Alexander and Patrick Russell, with modern terminology

⁴ R.H.: = John Ray, *Historia plantarum generalis, etc.* (London: Sam Samuelis Smith & Benjamini Walford, 1693–1704); ‘Raii Hist.’ in Miller’s *Gardener’s dictionary*.

Chapter 7

‘Pleasures of the imagination’: exploring the exotic

7.0 Introduction

In order to appreciate the quality and significance of *Aleppo*, the previous two chapters focused on its medicine and science. The motifs of the exotic (but not the erotic), the curious, the marvellous, have been constant undercurrents in previous chapters of this thesis — as they were in *Aleppo*. In *Aleppo* there are ethnographic descriptions of coffee houses, *bagnios* and music in cosmopolitan Aleppo that have been used as illustrative material by later writers.¹ While there is a substantial body of scholarship on popular literature today, it is rarely embraced by historians of the Middle East. As the anthropologist Walter Ambrust noted in 2006, cultural constructions of ‘pleasure’ need to be taken seriously by historians, for they tie together manuscripts, consumption, music and expressive culture.² Therefore *Aleppo*’s non-scientific sections will be considered in this chapter, for, as Patrick wrote, Aleppines are ‘seldom interested in philosophical intelligence, unless where the facts related border on the marvellous’.³ The chapter will argue that, despite many exotic elements, *Aleppo*² was essentially inspired by Enlightenment ideas of rational objectivity that had motivated *Aleppo*¹, rather than identified with the artistic movement known as Romanticism.

By framing the two editions within a sequence of literary movements, further light can be thrown on the relationship between the original text (*Aleppo*¹) and the edition that developed from the original version (*Aleppo*²). Whilst Alexander published *Aleppo*¹ at the height of the first phase of the Scottish Enlightenment, Patrick published his *Aleppo* towards the end of the Scottish Enlightenment, at a time

¹ Starkey, ‘*Bagnios*, coffee-houses and “glistening pomegranate-thickets”’, unpublished paper given at the ASTENE Conference, University of Edinburgh (7 August 2002).

² Walter Ambrust, ‘Audiovisual media and history of the Arab Middle East’, in Gershoni et al, *Middle East Historiographies*, 288–313 (306–8).

³ *Aleppo*², ii. 108.

when Romanticism (c.1780–1825 or later) was beginning to flourish — but when older enlightened ideas had not disappeared. Therefore, it might be useful to discover whether Romanticism influenced Patrick’s writing; or at least if there was some reaction to *Aleppo*² from Romantic writers in the late eighteenth century. Unlike the Enlightenment, with its emphasis on rational objectivity and classicism, the accent in Romanticism was on personal expression of emotion and imagination. Stirred by the French Revolution, Romanticism included rebellion against established social conventions. Thus, while there are elements of nature, imagination and unconventionality, the edited version of *Aleppo* belongs to the Scottish Enlightenment, which was, at its time, another intellectual revolution. Romantic imagery and enchantment populated the imaginary natural world of Romantic literature that flourished from about 1770, existing alongside the influential genre of ‘natural history’ with its emphasis on objective truth of the later Enlightenment.⁴ When the critic of *Aleppo*² in *The Monthly Review* recommended that the title of ‘Natural History’ was inappropriate, that was a clear marker that Enlightenment natural histories had, in his view, become old-fashioned.⁵

Associated curiosity about exotic places and cultures, alongside an increasing sophistication of style and taste, as promoted by the Scottish Enlightenment, will be discussed in the first section. The second section will take up elements of the Enlightenment, exploring the exotic and the search for authenticity as the emphasis was different in the two editions. The focus in this section will be on their ‘ethnographic’ observations and reflect on the degree to which objectivity might have been possible. The third section of this chapter will focus on eighteenth-century fascination with the world of the *Arabian Nights*. It will investigate links between authentic manuscripts and their translations, alongside the attractiveness of what is also called *The thousand nights and a night* (*Alf laylah wa laylah*). The pseudo-ethnographies of the *Nights* were a popular alternative to travel narratives, such as *Aleppo*; though many readers of the *Nights* also loved to read travel literature, including *Aleppo*. It will also locate *Aleppo*² alongside increasingly influential Romanticism. Whatever else, for the Russells, music and the pleasures of the

⁴ Lynn Merrill, *The Romance of Victorian natural history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

⁵ *Monthly Review* 18 (1794), 251–258.

imagination were not only delightful, but tied in with the wider promotion of good health and wellbeing.

7.1 The Scottish Enlightenment and the celebration of pleasure

This section will discuss the intellectual background of the Russells' fascination with aspects of pleasure and their interest in music,⁶ specifically referring to the two editions of *Aleppo*.

One of the fashions during the Scottish Enlightenment was a fascination with pedagogy and pleasure through music and story-telling.⁷ An interest in literature was thought to be a badge of politeness. However, Enlightenment philosophers are not cited by name in *Aleppo*, nor do the Russells use the term 'Enlightenment' yet there are evident underlying influences of the philosophical ideas of the movement in the Russells' work, as will be explored in this section. For example, Francis Hutcheson, one of the early intellectuals of the Scottish Enlightenment, argued that virtue leads to pleasure because it conforms to our natural 'moral sense'.⁸ For David Hume, who followed Hutcheson, moral values were social constructions: anything pleasurable was 'virtuous'. In a civilized society there was a need for good taste, yet appreciation of beauty, poetry, and music depended on emotion.⁹ A 'sentimentalist', Hume argued that 'taste was based on sentiment and critical facility'.¹⁰ Smith advocated 'natural sympathy'.¹¹ In 1790, Archibald Alison (1757–1839) emphasized that: 'the pleasures they (fine arts) afford are described, by way of distinction, as the pleasures of the imagination. The nature of any person's taste, is, in common life, generally determined from the nature or character of his imagination.'¹² Cosmopolitan ideals and exotic identities were features of Enlightenment philosophies.

Descriptions in *Aleppo* combined elements of taste and imagination. *Aleppo*² was indirectly influenced by these philosophical perspectives but there is less

⁶ A large parcel containing pieces of music owned by Patrick was sold by Squibb, *Catalogue*, 37: 580.

⁷ Henry George Farmer, 'The music of the Arabian Nights', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1944), 172–85 (1945), 40–60.

⁸ Paul Wood (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2000).

⁹ Wilson C. Clough, 'Reason and genius', *Philological quarterly* 23 (1944), 38.

¹⁰ David Hume, 'Of the standard of Taste', in idem, *Four Dissertations* (London: A. Millar, 1757).

¹¹ Adam Smith, *Theory of moral sentiments* (London: A. Millar, 1759).

¹² Archibald Alison, *Essays on the nature and principle of taste* (Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute, 1790), 3–4. Cf. Mark Akenside, *The pleasures of imagination* (London: R. Dodsley, 1744).

evidence in *Aleppo*¹. Whilst it may not be significant, the term ‘imagination’ is not found in *Aleppo*¹ though found in *Aleppo*²:¹³

elegant as the Aleppo gardens may appear to the cultivated taste of an European, they afford a voluptuous noontide retreat to the languid traveller. Even he, whose imagination can recal the enchanting scenery of Richmond or of Stow,¹⁴ may perhaps experience new pleasure in viewing the glistning pomegranate-thickets, in full blossom.¹⁵

The word ‘beauty’ appears five times in *Aleppo*¹, as in: ‘the shining red of its bark, together with the beauty of its flowers and fruit’¹⁶ but sixteen times in *Aleppo*², as in ‘the fields are in full beauty towards the end of this month; the verdure being every where finely variegated by an exuberance of plants, left to expand their flowers, amidst the corn.’¹⁷ Even the courtyard gardens were described as ‘elegantly picturesque’.¹⁸

7.2 Exploring the exotic and rational objectivity

An underlying theme in this thesis has been an exploration of the motif ‘the exotic’ — the unusual, the mysterious, the bizarre — that motivated travellers. The Orient represented an exotic place for Europeans. If there is an opposition between exotic and familiar, the Russells, who knew Aleppo intimately, did not necessarily exoticize the cosmopolitan city in *Aleppo*. It is therefore worth exploring how they approached topics that had been treated as exotic by other travel writers. Ways in which conflict between subjective exoticism, rational objectivity and accuracy may have been mediated is explored in this section.

In order to explore exotic elements in *Aleppo*, three case studies will be outlined: the first on Patrick’s attitude to Lady Mary’s *Turkish Embassy Letters*, a primary authority of the 1760s, with particular reference to her comments on Turkish baths and the harem.¹⁹ Her observations, embellished by literary and visual apparatuses — images, Arabic terminology and additional bibliographic authorities

¹³ *Aleppo*², i, 49.

¹⁴ Stowe, Buckinghamshire, Lancelot ‘Capability’ Brown’s first major commission from 1741; still a foremost great English landscape garden. Brown also designed gardens at Richmond Lodge near Kew and at Richmond Park in Yorkshire.

¹⁵ *Aleppo*², i, 49.

¹⁶ *Aleppo*¹, 45.

¹⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 65.

¹⁸ *Aleppo*², I, 29.

¹⁹ Weitzman, ‘Voyeurism and aesthetics’, 351.

— provided a text that was imperative reading for a wide range of readers from the eighteenth century onwards. The second will focus on puppet shows as socio-political commentary; and the third, on music, will demonstrate how the Russells supported their observations with a range of literary apparatuses.

In late medieval and Renaissance times, ‘wonder’ and ‘marvel’ were key elements in travel accounts, mediating between inside and outside. In Elizabethan times, the myth of the Orient was synonymous with great riches, sources of potential wealth and exotic luxuries through trade.²⁰ Eighteenth-century readers were fascinated by the curious, the exotic and wonderful landscapes — and inspired by Cook’s three voyages (1768–1779). Images of an exotic Orient fascinated the reading public during the ‘Century of the *Arabian Nights*’, throughout the Enlightenment and in the Romantic period. ‘Perhaps “the other” will always be seen through a preconceived veil of make-believe, one that changes with the circumstances under which the two meet.’²¹

This chapter will explore information about exotic subjects in *Aleppo*, outwith its exotic flora and fauna. Many exotic aspects of a non-European culture are found in the exotic location of *Aleppo*; its sparkling accounts provide an enchanted, marvellous world of fantasia within the cultural space of Aleppo. Both editions describe upper-class families enjoying leisure pursuits at home; music,²² reading, story-tellers, buffoons and dancers. In the courtyard, with its fountains and arbours, roses and jasmine,²³ family, guests and friends were entertained with lavish meals or with tobacco, sweetmeats and coffee. References to the lives of pashas, feasts, women in the harem,²⁴ picnics in the gardens that surrounded the town and other exotic aspects of non-European culture are described, but are essentially free of sexual innuendo or titillating snippets.²⁵

²⁰ Kabbani, *Imperial fictions*, 17.

²¹ Denys Johnson-Davies, ‘Stereotyping the Other’, *al-Ahram Weekly* (11–17 May 2000), http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2000/481/bk4_481.htm (25 November 2009).

²² *Aleppo*², i, 145.

²³ *Aleppo*², i, 144.

²⁴ *Aleppo observed*, 203–9, on the harem.

²⁵ Starkey, ‘Bagnios’.

7.2.1 Exoticism or accuracy: Turkish baths and the harem

This section will aim to illuminate how the Russells used contemporary primary texts. The essayist and flamboyant eccentric, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was one of the earliest European women to write of her experiences in the Ottoman empire.²⁶ She was famous for her fifty-two *Turkish Embassy Letters*, with their lively conversational style. These letters were prepared for publication after her return from Constantinople but only published in 1763, the year after her death. Considered scandalous because of its detailed observations of Turkish sexual practices, the *Turkish Embassy Letters*, the first secular account of life in the Ottoman empire by a Western woman, enthralled its readers and has recently become a popular primary source for studies on gender, visual representations, ethnography and/or social space.²⁷

Lady Mary was privileged to visit women in the Sultan's harem and rather naively found life therein to be a living embodiment of the *Nights* (as did many later Orientalist artists, if only in their imagination):²⁸ 'you forget dear sister, those very tales were writ by an author of this country and (excepting the *Enchantments*) are a real representation of the manners here.'²⁹ She went on to criticize other writers: 'Now that I am a little acquainted with their ways, I cannot forebear admiring either the exemplary discretion or extreme Stupidity of all the writers who have given accounts of [Turkish women].'³⁰

Lady Mary's *Turkish Embassy Letters* provided exotic data but were published after *Aleppo*¹ so had no influence on Alexander. As they were originally drafted in 1716–1718, it is unlikely that *Aleppo*¹ influenced her. Yet Alexander's description of women at the *bagnio*: 'refresh themselves at intervals, by going out into the other

²⁶ Halsband, *Life of Lady Mary*; Weitzman, 'Voyeurism and aesthetics', 347–58.

²⁷ Joan Delplato, 'An English "Feminist" in the Turkish Harem', in Frederick Keener and Susan E. Lorsch (eds), *Eighteenth-century women and the arts* (Westport: NY: Greenwood Press, 1988), 148–63; Elizabeth Warnock Fernea, 'An early ethnographer of Middle Eastern women', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 40 (1981), 329–338; Marilyn Booth, *Harem Histories* (London: Duke University Press, 2010); Billy Melman, *Women's Orients* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 78.

²⁸ Lady Mary, *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, ed. Robert Halsband, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965–1967), i, 315–6, 385.

²⁹ Montagu, *Complete Letters*, i, 385; Kabbani, *Imperial fictions*, 29, n. 60.

³⁰ Montagu, *Complete Letters*, i, 327.

rooms, where they smoke, converse, and drink coffee, with some of the various parties that are commonly there,³¹ merely echoes Lady Mary's description:

[There were] so many fine Women some in conversation, some working, others drinking Coffee or sherbet, and many negligently lying on their Cushions ... In short, tis the Women's coffee house,³² where all the news of the Town is told, Scandal invented, etc... The Lady that seem'd the most considerable amongst them entreated me to sit by her and would fain have undress'd me for the bath.'''³³

Descriptions in Lady Mary's *Turkish Embassy Letters* and in *Aleppo* were on similar topics: thus, the Russells described that the gardens around Aleppo were popular places to network, relax and picnic under the shade of the trees. Women particularly enjoyed these outings, yet, as Alexander described, 'the ladies, even of the greatest distinction, are obliged to walk on foot, both in the city, and when they go to a garden at a moderate distance'.³⁴ Lady Mary described similar excursions in Constantinople: 'In the public gardens there are public kiosks where people go that are not so well accommodated at home, and drink their coffee, sherbet etc.'³⁵

Perhaps surprisingly, though Lady Mary has many descriptions of women, she rarely uses the word 'harem', apart from a famous passage in her Letter 30: 'To the Countess of [Mar], 1 April 1717, Adrianople': 'upon the whole, I look upon the Turkish women as the only free people in the Empire. The very Divan pays a respect to 'em, and the Grand Signior himself, when a Pasha is executed, never violates the privileges of the harem (or women's apartment which remains unsearched entire to the widow'.³⁶ Although Alexander introduces the topic: 'The *haram*,³⁷ or women's apartment, among the people of fashion, is guarded by a black eunuch, or young boy',³⁸ he did not use the term harem (in terms of social space) though he discussed women's activities, and he avoided any titillating gossip or exotic fantasies.

³¹ *Aleppo* (1757), 69–70.

³² No woman would enter a public coffee house in either Constantinople or Aleppo.

³³ Lady Mary's experiences of the Turkish bath, given in her letter of 1 April 1717 from Adrianople, are included in Robert De Maria (ed.), *British literature, 1640–1789* (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2001), 589–90.

³⁴ *Aleppo* (1757), 80.

³⁵ Letter 33, in Lady Mary, *Letters and works*, i, 401.

³⁶ Letter 30, in Lady Mary, *Letters*, 35.

³⁷ i.e. Turkish: *harem* from Arabic: It is not حرم *ḥaram* forbidden place; sacrosanct, sanctum; but حريم *ḥarīm*, 'a sacred inviolable place; female members of the family'. In *Aleppo*², i, 403, Patrick explains the meaning of *ḥarām*, حرام 'as a matter that is forbidden and subject to punishment'.

³⁸ *Aleppo*¹, 114–115.

Attention was paid by Aleppines to their elaborate dress codes (fur, silk, gold thread),³⁹ luxurious symbols of power, wealth and elegance; rules of etiquette and ceremony dictating proper behaviour in a sombre, hardworking community (Figure 12).⁴⁰ For Patrick, Aleppine women were splendidly attired rather than the object of erotic fantasies. Apart from references to Lady Mary's Letter 29,⁴¹ Niebuhr's *Voyage en Arabie*, and d'Arvieux's *Travels and Mémoires*,⁴² Patrick cited an obscure sixteenth-century Italian source, Theodoro Spandugino, who described the luxury in dress and great quantities of jewels and gold used during the reign of Selim I (1512–1520) and that of his successor, Suleiman the Magnificent (r.1520–1566).⁴³ Patrick even compared the splendour of Aleppine costumes (Figures 9, 12, 13) with those in Granada, described by Ibn al-Khaṭīb as 'variegated flowers, which, in the spring, expand in some delicious meadow, under the genial influence of a happy clime'.⁴⁴

The critic of *Aleppo*² in *The English Review* commented that Alexander in *Aleppo*¹ 'in conformity to his general plan, was very brief in his account of the Harem. The editor [Patrick], therefore, availing himself of a licence assumed on other occasions, has entered more at large on a subject of general curiosity, and but imperfectly known in Britain.'⁴⁵ Patrick devoted two chapters to the harem (used 73 times and 'hareem' once, and 'women' 200 times), though the accounts were largely free of the exotic fantasies of later travellers.⁴⁶ Perhaps Patrick was influenced by popular fiction in which the Oriental 'harem' had become a cliché, but it is hard to imagine that reading pulp fiction was one of his primary pleasures.

³⁹ *Aleppo*², i, 100–15.

⁴⁰ *Aleppo*¹, 73–94, 115–19, 172–7; *Aleppo*², i, 100–15; (Figure 1).

⁴¹ *Aleppo*², i, 100–109, 163–4, 366, on dress.

⁴² *Aleppo*², i, 366, citing d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, vi, 425. Curiously, d'Arvieux advised Molière on Turkish manners and costumes for *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*, a play presented to the French court in 1670.

⁴³ Theodoro Spandugino, *I commentari... dell' origine de principi turchi, & de' costumi di quella nazione* (Florence: Lorenzo Torrentino, 1551) (*Aleppo*², i, 364–5). *Aleppo*², i, 393, 409, 431, 436, 444, on other Turkish customs from this source.

⁴⁴ *Aleppo*², i, 365.

⁴⁵ *English Review* 24 (1795), 84.

⁴⁶ *Aleppo observed*, 204.



FIGURE 12. 'Turkish lady of condition in the proper dress of Aleppo. She is represented as sitting carelessly on a divan smoking a pipe and her servant presenting a dish of coffee in the usual manner.' (*Aleppo*², i, 147)⁴⁷

Although 'the regulations of the harem oppose a strong barrier to curiosity',⁴⁸ as physicians, the Russells were able to enter the harem regularly in a professional capacity.⁴⁹ However, there were differences between the two texts. For Alexander, women were described; for Patrick, possibly influenced by early Romanticism, the harem was a collective noun defining women in households.⁵⁰ For Western women writers and Romantic Orientalists of the nineteenth century, as Billie Melman recounted, the harem had become domesticated, an image of a middle-class home.⁵¹

⁴⁷ *Aleppo*¹, opp. 101, plate XVI; *Aleppo*², i, opp. 107, plate III.

⁴⁸ *Aleppo*², i, 236.

⁴⁹ *Aleppo*², i, 245.

⁵⁰ An 'Account of the Harem or Apartments for the Ladies' and an 'Account of the Turkish Ladies' from *Aleppo*² were published in *The Annual Register of world events* 37 (1795), 10–14.

⁵¹ Melman, *Women's Orients*, 308–9.

It defined those wealthy enough to have a harem in their *seraglio*,⁵² essentially a social space. As the *Monthly Review* commented: ‘The editor has also availed himself of the opportunity which his profession afforded, in gratifying his own and the public curiosity by a more detailed account of the Harem, or female apartments, that characteristic object of the Eastern domestic economy.’⁵³

Patrick in *Aleppo*² cited the *Turkish Embassy Letters* nine times: on women’s dress that, he argued, differed in Aleppo;⁵⁴ on gallantry,⁵⁵ a long quotation about sexual assignations and bawdy houses in which he disagreed with comments about women’s veils, as in her Letters 30 and 33,⁵⁶ on secret correspondence between ladies of the harem and their gallants, with a quote,⁵⁷ and on Greek dances.⁵⁸ In Letter 34, Lady Mary wrote: ‘When the dance was over, four fair slaves came into the room with silver censers in their hands and perfumed the air with amber, aloes wood and other scents. After this they served me coffee upon their knees in the finest Japan china, with soucoups of silver gilt.’⁵⁹ In contrast to this exotic account, Patrick soberly described attitudes to dancing in Aleppo, which might, of course have been different from those in Constantinople:

Dancing is not here esteemed an accomplishment, it being only practised by those who make a trade of it, whose dexterity chiefly consists in the motion of their arms and bodies, and putting themselves in different attitudes, many of which, particularly of the women, are not the most decent.⁶⁰

Likewise, Patrick inserted unsentimental observations about Greek dance into a discussion of Islamic law, itself based on d’Ohsson’s famous multi-volume *Tableau général de l’empire Othoman*.⁶¹

Patrick’s criticisms of Lady Mary’s fascinating and exotic observations raise an intriguing issue for they cause us to reflect on the degree to which objectivity is

⁵² *seraglio*; palace; specifically, the sequestered living quarters used by wives and concubines in an Ottoman household. The term harem also used to refer to these domestic arrangements but, by extension, can refer to the women themselves.

⁵³ *Monthly Review* 18 (1795), 252.

⁵⁴ *Aleppo*², i, 105.

⁵⁵ *Aleppo*², i, 253.

⁵⁶ *Aleppo*², i, 428–9.

⁵⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 253.

⁵⁸ *Aleppo*², i, 385.

⁵⁹ Lady Mary, *Letters*, ii, 261 and quoted in *The Monthly Review* 28 (1763), 472, *The London Chronicle* 13 (1763), 508 and *The Annual Register* (1764), 304.

⁶⁰ *Aleppo* (1757), 82.

⁶¹ D’Ohsson, *Tableau général*, ii, 93 on Greek dance; quoted in *Aleppo*², i, 385.

possible. In its review of *Aleppo*⁶², *The British Critic* drew the public's attention to 'a delicate and important question' that related to her *Turkish Embassy Letters*.⁶³ Patrick challenged the content of several of these *Letters*, finding fault, for instance, with her descriptions of Turkish baths.⁶⁴ Patrick, after discussing the content of Letters 26, 33 and 39 with a respectable lady patient, sternly rejected Lady Mary's licentious descriptions on the subject, supporting his comments with observations from d'Arvieux,⁶⁵ claiming that women remained decently covered in the *ḥammām*, and arguing that such descriptions

cast suspicion on some other other descriptions, which I am inclined to think are in the main true. ... allowance being made for a fine imagination in the glow of youth, revelling amid scenes possessed of all the advantages of novelty, I see no reason to suspect wilful misrepresentation... I must own myself wholly at a loss to account for her description of the Bagnio, so inconsistent with the testimony of all the females I ever conversed with in the East. ... But that two hundred females (of course inhabitants of different Harems) should all appear stark naked, conversing, walking working, drinking Coffee, or Sherbet, or lying negligently on their cushions, ... was such a deviation from Mohammedan delicacy that my surprise on reading the description, was full.⁶⁶

The reviewer of *Aleppo*² in the *British Critic* noted that Lady Mary's accounts had

long been admired for their vivacity, and in general respected for their fidelity of description. It is painful for us to detract from a lady's character, but, at the same time that we allow as much as ever to the luxuriant richness of her fancy, we feel ourselves inclined to decide, on the evidence of Dr Russel's [sic] arguments, that, in the descriptions of the Turkish ladies' baths her pencil was dipped in other colours than those of truth.⁶⁷

With reference to the internal economy of the harem, Scott also asserted that 'we have [in *Aleppo*²] the truest picture of Mussulman manners yet represented to our view; all [Patrick] utters is the language of simplicity and truth. In his descriptions are no flights of imagination or fanciful conjecture on what he had not the means of penetrating into.'⁶⁷

In the twentieth century, the *Turkish Embassy Letters* were analysed by Damiani in *Enlightened Observers* and Kabbani in *Imperial Fictions* to test the presence of Orientalist stereotyping and the creation of myths that have poisoned

⁶² *British Critic* (1794), 464.

⁶³ *Aleppo*², i, 381, 385.

⁶⁴ d'Arvieux, *Mémoires*, ii, 258; idem, *Voyage dans le Palestine*, 216 (*Aleppo*², i, 380).

⁶⁵ *Aleppo*², i, 380–2.

⁶⁶ *The British Critic* 4 (1794), 465–7.

⁶⁷ Scott, *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, i, lxxii, lxxvii–lxxix.

East-West political relations.⁶⁸ According to Kabbani, Lady Mary ‘wrote with endearing naiveté’. Yet Lady Mary’s letters are still thought to provide illumination on an exotic Orient. Arthur Weitzman locates Lady Mary beyond the stereotypes of Orientalism for she ‘pierced the myths of Orient by refusing to demonize the Turks’ and when ‘she looked at the “other” she saw herself’.⁶⁹ Despite attempts to associate Lady Mary with ‘Orientalism’, many reviewers consider her to be even-handed and balanced. Robert Halsband justly claimed that her *Turkish Embassy Letters*: ‘by virtue of their clear-sighted observation, their expansive tolerance, and their candid sympathy for an alien culture, ... are Lady Mary’s valid credential for a place in the European “Enlightenment”’.⁷⁰

7.2.2 Searching for authenticity: coffee houses and puppet shows

This second example will demonstrate the Russells’ search for authenticity, balancing the exotic with the practical. There was an array of physical places in Aleppo that shared an ‘architecture of sociability’,⁷¹ facilities for leisure pursuits where friendships and business partnerships could develop,⁷² including bathhouses (Italian: *bagnio*; Arabic: *ḥammām*).⁷³ Furthermore, commodities of pleasure, such as tobacco and coffee, greatly affected Aleppo’s cultural landscape (as they did the city of London) and the town was rich in coffee houses (Turkish sing. *kahvehâne*). Patrick observed, after supper ‘many of the ordinary people go to the coffee house, where they pass the time till evening prayer, and then retire. People of rank sometimes visit after supper, but seldom are seen abroad later than ten o’clock.’⁷⁴ Patrick not only described their use, traced their appearances through the writings of earlier natural historians in great detail, and studied the medical effects of stimulants but also discussed the socio-cultural environment of the coffee-houses and associated entertainment.

The coffee-houses of Aleppo naturally attract the notice of a stranger more than any of the objects he meets with in rambling over the city. They are found in all quarters of the town,

⁶⁸ Rana Kabbani, *Imperial fictions, the myth of Orient* (London: Pandora, 1979).

⁶⁹ Weitzman, ‘Voyeurism and aesthetics’.

⁷⁰ Halsband, *Life of Lady Mary*, i, xiv.

⁷¹ Habermas, *Structural transformation*.

⁷² Jayyusi, *The city in the Islamic world*, 93.

⁷³ *Aleppo*², i, 257–8. Starkey, ‘Bagnios’.

⁷⁴ *Aleppo*², i, 143–4.

and some of them are spacious and handsome. They are gaudily painted, and furnished with matted platform and benches those of the better sort have a fountain in the middle with a gallery for musicians. A row of large windows discovers to a passenger all that is going on within and the company being supplied with small low wicker stools often choose in the summer to sit before the door in the open air These coffee houses are not frequented by persons of the first rank but occasionally by all others so that they are seldom empty and at certain hours are full of company.⁷⁵

As coffee houses flourished, hospitality for men could be transferred from domestic to public space. Because of their proximity to the mosques, customers in the coffee houses could hear the call to prayer and even listen to the recitations, and in Ramadan the baths and coffee-houses were kept open all night. Several coffee-houses were part of commercial complexes of shops and workshops of the *sūq* set up as *awqāf*. In some coffee houses the clientele were entertained by ‘a concert of music, a story teller, ... [puppet-shows]... and sometimes by jugglers and tumblers’.⁷⁶ Some were venues for indoor games particularly chess, draughts, *mankalah*, *tabuduk*, backgammon and the play of the ring.⁷⁷ Yet other coffee houses were little more than illegal taverns where patrons indulged in a variety of improper pastimes, including gambling and prostitution⁷⁸ and attracted the attention of Turkish officials, the custodians of public morality. In 1764 the governor of Aleppo ordered the closure of the coffee houses after sunset due to problems with alcohol and prostitution. Again, in April 1767 Kul Aḥmad Pasha Zādah ‘Alī Pasha ordered all coffee houses in Aleppo be closed at sunset.⁷⁹

Shadow plays (*khayāl al-ẓill* or *karagöz*, Arabic: *karākūz*), often performed in coffee houses, were common throughout the Ottoman empire and Persia and, apart from providing amusing entertainment, they reflected political and social issues in Ottoman society.⁸⁰ Whilst Alexander simply noted that coffee houses ‘in time of

⁷⁵ *Aleppo*², i, 23.

⁷⁶ *Aleppo*¹, 91.

⁷⁷ *Aleppo*², i, 140–3, 251. See also Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, i, 129–30. *Aleppo*¹, 91 includes rules on ‘play of the ring’ but does not define *tabuduk*. Patrick calls the game *tabwaduk* and describes its rules (*Aleppo*², i, 140); These board games were also played by ladies at home. For more detailed descriptions of these games that read as if they were expanded versions of the *Aleppo* text, see Lane, *Manners and Customs*, 343–51.

⁷⁸ *Aleppo observed*, 155–8, on prostitution and sexually transmitted diseases.

⁷⁹ Bodman, *Political factions*, 26; Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 33, on complaints lodged against coffee houses where patrons smoked opium and other drugs.

⁸⁰ *Aleppo*², i, 147–8; Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 43, 227–37; Metin And, *Karagöz* (Istanbul: Dost, 1979); Boogert, ‘Patrick Russell’, 239.

Ramadan ... particularly an obscene low kind of puppet show',⁸¹ Patrick described how a puppet show is 'performed by shadows, in the manner of *Les Ombres Chinoise*';⁸² the exotic *Karagöz* sometimes behaved with 'disgusting indecency' and 'to the point of obscenity' but 'some faint attempts towards dramatic fable may be traced in these shows, which are moreover diversified and decorated by the march of caravans, bridal processions, and other gaudy pageants.'⁸³ As the popularity of shadow puppets in Europe developed after Alexander published *Aleppo*¹, this may explain why Alexander did not pay *Karagöz* much attention.

Furthermore, for Patrick, the puppet plays provided contemporary political commentary, far removed from 'pleasures of the imagination'. They were interspersed with satire and *risqué-revue* about local government officials and their social policies, in defiance of rigid censorship — just as puppet shows were used to comment on contemporary events in Paris during the French Revolution.⁸⁴ Patrick described a puppet performance that ridiculed Janissaries⁸⁵ who had been defeated by the Russians in 1768 at the beginning of the Russo-Turkish wars of 1768 to 1774.⁸⁶ This defeat provided an opportunity for the *ashrāf*⁸⁷ to strengthen their political position when the Janissaries returned from war, whilst the Ottoman authorities struggled to control the city. The performance allowed Aleppines to criticize the authorities and lampoon the Janissaries; as a result, shadow puppet shows were banned by the authorities for a while.⁸⁸

⁸¹ *Aleppo*¹, 91.

⁸² 'Chinese shadow show': given in Paris and Marseilles from 1767 and London from 1776, after being introduced from China by missionaries (Fan-Pen Li Chen, *Chinese Shadow Theatres* (McGill-Queen's Press, 2007), 46–48).

⁸³ *Aleppo*², i, 147.

⁸⁴ Matthew S. Buckley, *Tragedy walks the streets* (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006), 34–5.

⁸⁵ Janissaries: infantry units that made up the Ottoman sultan's household troops and bodyguards

⁸⁶ *Aleppo*², i, 147–8. Kabbani, *Myths of Orient*, 43. The Russo-Turkish war of 1768–1774 was an indirect result of Russian interference in Poland. Sultan Mustafa III declared war on Russia on 25 September 1768; in June 1770 the Russian navy (with help from the British) destroyed the Ottoman fleet at Çesme, the same month that Patrick was gathering plants on his way to Alexandretta (*Aleppo*², ii, 267).

⁸⁷ *Ashrāf* (Arabic: الأشراف): those claiming descent from the Prophet Muḥammad via his daughter Fatimah. Plural of *sharīf* 'noble'.

⁸⁸ Roger M.A. Allen and Donald S. Richards, *Arabic literature in the post-classical period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 372.

Puppet shows that Patrick described were more than an exotic form of popular entertainment. The main characters reflected oppositions within Ottoman society: *Karagöz* is said to represent the illiterate but straightforward public, while the other main character, *Hacivat*, belongs to the educated class, speaks Ottoman Turkish and quotes poetry, and is always trying to “domesticate” *Karagöz*, but never makes progress. Other characters reflected the diverse ethnic, class and religious divisions in local communities.

7.2.3 Substantiating observations: music

Rather than exotic fantasy, evidence of the Russells’ ethno-musicological expertise is provided. This section will demonstrate how they variously used images, Arabic terminology, additional descriptions, and Arabic authorities to support their own observations.

Alexander and Patrick shared a passion for playing music and would entertain members of the Aleppine Factory. According to a correspondent (Jasper Shaw or Eleazar Edwards, in 1753), Alexander ‘had a fine ear’ and sang extremely well. He was ‘not backward to entertain in this respect when requested.’ Both brothers played the flute and held ‘a grand Concert of Musick’ at their house ‘opposite Mr Free (the Street Way)’ once a fortnight.⁸⁹ According to Jeffrey:

Long hours of idleness are often referred to in the correspondence [from merchants in Aleppo], and Dr Russell states that the greatest drawback to a residence in the Levant was the difficulty of finding occupation. In the older letters from Aleppo the characteristic English love of vocal and instrumental music is constantly evinced by inquiries about new compositions by Purcell, and other authors of the period. Musical soirees were the most usual entertainments of society and must have constituted a salutary recreation in such communities, shut off from outside intercourse with their kind in a way only comparable with Pitcairn Islanders of the present day.⁹⁰

Dr Charles Burney, author of *General History of Music*,⁹¹ recognized Patrick as an authority on Turkish music.⁹²

Aesthetically sensitive and keen musicians themselves, the Russells described the Aleppine musical heritage (*turāth*), identifying religious, outdoor and indoor

⁸⁹ SP 110/74, in Ambrose, ‘English traders at Aleppo’, 267.

⁹⁰ Geoffrey Jeffery, ‘Levant merchants in Cyprus: social life’, *Notes and queries* 12 (1915), 241; idem, ‘The Levant Company in Cyprus’, *Notes and queries* 11 (1915), 222–5.

⁹¹ Charles Burney and Frank Mercer, *A general history of music*, 4 vols (London: [s.n.], 1776).

⁹² Charles Burney, *Music, men and manners in France and Italy, 1770* (1771: London, Folio Society, 1969), 68; Fanny Burney, *Memoirs of Doctor Burney 1778*: London: Edward Moxon, 1832). i, 321.

music played by ensembles. Instruments, airs and poetry are described.⁹³ Alexander wrote: ‘the music of the country is of two sorts; one for the field, and the other for the chamber.’⁹⁴ Patrick changed it to ‘the instrumental music is of two kinds. The one martial and loud, intended for the field; the other less sonorous, adapted to the chamber.’⁹⁵ The latter was the type played in the coffee houses; whilst martial music was played by military bands (sg. *mehter*) in public spaces. Curiously, this loud military music (‘Turkish music’), previously used to accompany Janissaries into battle, became popular from the 1720s in the courts of Poland, Russia, Vienna, Hapsburg and Berlin.⁹⁶

Patrick distinguishes between different types of music performed in Aleppo and as a result highlights issues about the boundaries between popular and classical, vulgarity and ‘culture’. Alexander noted that some ‘coffee-houses of Aleppo are frequented by none but the vulgar’,⁹⁷ who spend their time smoking, sipping coffee they had bought on credit,⁹⁸ conversing, and otherwise diverting themselves;⁹⁹ or, Patrick asserted: ‘Many of the men of inferior rank, sing readily in company.’¹⁰⁰ Music was much part of life for upper-class women as well as for men in Aleppo and even in the mid-twentieth century, evening soirees (*sahra-s*) of musical entertainment, song, food¹⁰¹ and merriment were regular events in the homes of the richer Aleppine merchants, for Aleppo was until recently famous for its intellectual listeners, who are arbiters of musical taste and aesthetics.¹⁰²

⁹³ *Aleppo*², i, 152.

⁹⁴ *Aleppo* (1757), 82.

⁹⁵ *Aleppo*², i, 150–1.

⁹⁶ Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, i, 136–7.

⁹⁷ *Aleppo*¹, 23, 146–7; *Aleppo* (1757), 81; Ralph Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1985), 106.

⁹⁸ Hattox, *Coffee and coffeehouses*, 113.

⁹⁹ Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 224, 228, 231.

¹⁰⁰ *Aleppo*², i, 155. Cf. Niebuhr, *Travels through Arabia*, i, 129–30.

¹⁰¹ Scott, *Arabian Nights’ Entertainments*, i, xxiii–xxv, described some 141 dishes from a list that Dr Russell brought back from Aleppo.

¹⁰² Jonathan Holt Shannon, *Among the jasmine trees* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2006), 30.

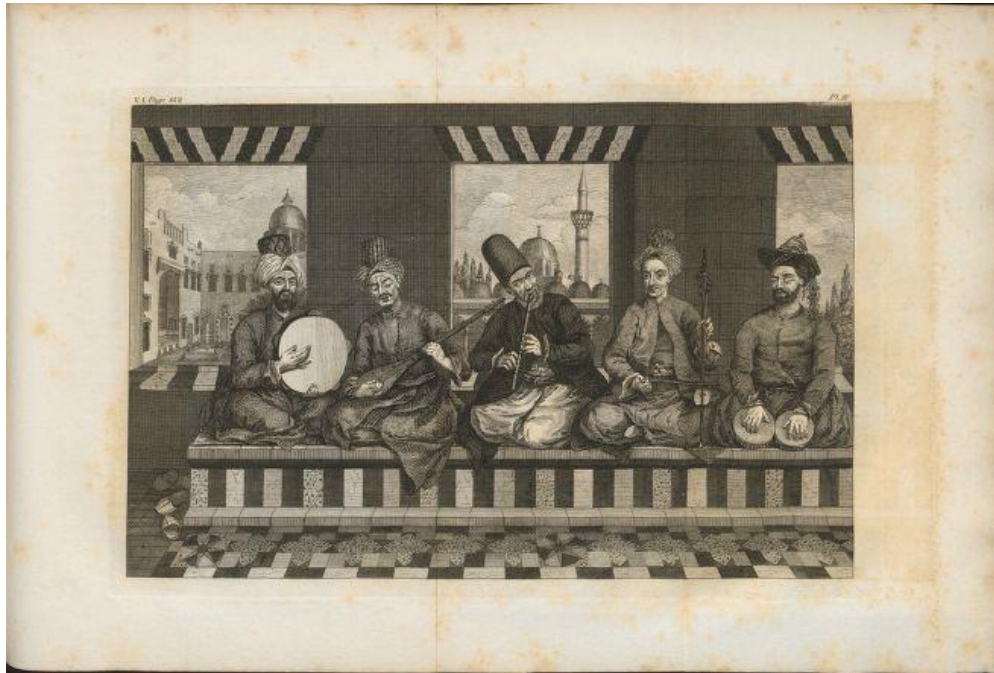


FIGURE 13. A Turkish concert, exhibiting several instruments used in chamber music (*Aleppo*², i, 152)

This print (Figure 13) first appeared in *Aleppo*¹ with a brief description, elaborated on much the same lines as the later version. Apart from information on the musicians and their costumes, Alexander drew his reader's attention to the background that combines both secular and sacred elements of the cultural landscape: 'Through a window. the inner court-yard of a house' with the little garden, and fountain &c.'; 'through another is seen part of a mosque with the minaret from whence the imaums call the people to prayers'. As Patrick emphasized in his commentary on this image, music reflects the solidarity of the Aleppine community though 'very few of the Turks are themselves performers'.¹⁰³ A fascinating comparison could be made between the detailed illustrations in *Aleppo* and later Orientalist paintings with all their intricate detail and exotic fantasies. Appropriately, the cover of Damiani's *Enlightened Observers* was illustrated with this print.

However, the print also had a solemn message. As the print demonstrated, music was a relevant identifier in its diverse linguistic, religious and ethnic

¹⁰³ *Aleppo*², i, 386, citing d'Ohsson, *Tableau général*, ii, 231. This book was available in English before *Aleppo*² was published, as *A General History of the Othoman empire* (London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, 1789).

community,¹⁰⁴ that boasted a cosmopolitan mixture of musical styles and popular music (*qudūd shaʿbiyyah*) of many different origins; Iraqi, Egyptian, Kurdish, Persian, Turkish and Syrian.¹⁰⁵ The *diff*-player on the left was ‘a Turk of lower class’, as according to Patrick, can be deduced from his rather clumsy turban. To his right was a Christian tambour-player, and next to him was a *nāy*-playing dervish. The fourth, a ‘Christian of middle rank’, was playing the fiddle or *kemenge*. Judging from his clothing, the fifth was probably a ‘Turk’. We cannot be completely certain that the Christian musicians belonged to the Syrian Orthodox church, considering its ban on profane music-making, but this church’s negative attitude towards profane music may not have had the same impact in Aleppo as it did in some rural areas.

Elsewhere, Patrick described Jewish women singing — though no parallel descriptions were found in *Aleppo*¹: ‘their songs have nothing gay, or festive, they are more like Psalms chanted in what is meant for a tune, but happens unfortunately to be the opposite to all melody.’ Sandys appears to have entertained a notion of their vocal music equally unfavorable. Speaking of their singing the liturgy in the synagogue, he observes ‘they sing in tunes that have no affinity with music’.¹⁰⁶

Aleppo is called the ‘mother of *turāth*’ (heritage) nowadays, thus linking contemporary Syrian music to a mythical golden age of Levantine culture.¹⁰⁷ Even today instruments of a classical *takht* ensemble include the *qānūn*, *ʿud*, *nāy*, *riqq* (Arabic: رقص, a type of tambourine), violin, a singer and possibly a frame drum (*daff*).¹⁰⁸ Patrick referred his readers to Kaempfer’s and Niebuhr’s descriptions of various wind instruments.¹⁰⁹ Patrick described the syrinx, or Pan’s pipe as a pastoral instrument that could be found with varying numbers of reeds, from five to twenty-three, as Niebuhr also discovered in Egypt.¹¹⁰ Curiously, although Patrick used d’Ohsson’s *Tableau général* on twenty-one occasions in *Aleppo*², he did not refer to his descriptions of musical instruments, which provided a similar list: ‘... sont le

¹⁰⁴ Starkey, ‘Cosmopolitan cities’.

¹⁰⁵ Starkey, ‘Cosmopolitan cities’; Shannon, *Among the jasmine trees*, 34.

¹⁰⁶ *Aleppo*², ii, 63, quoting Sandys, *Relation of a journey*, 49, 51.

¹⁰⁷ Shannon, *Among the jasmine trees*, 27.

¹⁰⁸ Shannon, *Among the jasmine trees*, 36.

¹⁰⁹ *Aleppo*², i, 155; Kaempfer, *Amoenitatum exoticarum*; Niebuhr, *Travels Through Arabia*, i, 142.

¹¹⁰ *Aleppo*², i, 155–6.

violon, la basse de voile, la guitar, le istre, le luth, la flute, la sifflet de Pan, neih, espace de fle traversiere, le tambour de basque, le psaltérion, etc.’¹¹¹

	<i>Aleppo</i> ¹ , 82, 93	<i>Aleppo</i> ² , i, 151–2	<i>Aleppo</i> ² , i, 151–2	Patrick’s additional terms	Modern Arabic transliteration	Modern Arabic terms
<i>chamber music</i>	dulcimer	dulcimer	<i>santeer</i> ¹¹² صنطير	قانون <i>kanoon</i>	<i>Qānūn</i>	صنجو، قانون
	guitar	guitar	<i>tanboor</i> ¹¹³ طنبور		<i>tanbūr</i> (Persian: <i>tabūrāk</i>) also used for drum etc.	طنبور
	Arab fiddle [spike fiddle]	Arab fiddle	<i>kemenge, kamangi</i> ¹¹⁴ كمبخه		<i>kamanja</i>	كمنجة
	small drum	small drum	نقاره <i>nakara</i>		<i>naqqāra</i>	نقارة
	dervis’ flute [end-blown flute]	dervis’ flute	ناي <i>naie</i>		<i>nāy</i> ¹¹⁵	ناي
	diff [tambourine or frame drum]	diff, <i>tambour de Basque</i>	دِف، دُف، دُف <i>def, duff, diff</i>	دايره <i>daira</i>	<i>dā’ira</i>	دِف، دائرة
<i>martial bands</i>	short hautboy [oboe]	hautboys	زمر <i>zummar</i>		<i>zamr</i>	مزمار
	trumpet	trumpet	نغير <i>nafēr</i>		<i>naḡīr</i>	نغير
	cymbal	cymbal	صنج <i>smuge</i>		<i>ṣunūj, sg. ṣinj</i>	صنج
	large drum	large drum	طبل <i>tuble</i>		<i>ṭabl</i>	طبل
	small drum	small drum	نقاره <i>nakara</i>		<i>naqqāra</i>	نقارة

FIGURE 14. A comparison of terms used in *Aleppo*¹ and *Aleppo*² for musical instruments

Figure 14 highlights how Patrick built on ethno-musical data collected by Alexander but he also added names in Arabic script. It highlights problems that arose about typesetting Arabic script. Modern terms are added for comparative purposes.

Music and dance incorporate performance and aesthetics, emotion and sentiment, and religion, but also reflect concepts of the body, exoticism and of pleasure. Despite these apparently exotic subjects, there were serious medical implications, of which the Russells, as physicians, were well aware. Galenic humoral

¹¹¹ D’Ohsson, *Tableau général*, 259–60.

¹¹² Persian loan word; Arabic *sanṭūr*, Turkish *santur*, Persian *sanṭūr* (Cannon and Kaye, *Persian Contributions*, 126.

¹¹³ This was typeset incorrectly: the ‘b’ ب is missing but was corrected as in the Errata.

¹¹⁴ This was typeset incorrectly with the خ above the line but corrected (as given above) in the Errata at the end of the first volume.

¹¹⁵ *Aleppo*¹, 93: *nāy* is an endblown flute. Cannon and Kaye, *Persian Contributions*, 114.

balances provided both medical and moral guidance in every aspect of their lives. Music, happiness and engaging company can help a patient's wellbeing, vitality and rationality.¹¹⁶ Rest, exercise, regulation of the diet and sex, listening (Arabic: *sama*^c) to musicians or singing poetry, deterred the onset of melancholy. Calm sources of joy, such as music and the reciting of poems and tales, produced harmony of the soul, echoing the harmony of the cosmos. Story-telling even helped to while away the hours during the plague. Turkish behaviour during the plague included the pursuit of pleasure: singing, dancing, and engaging in relaxing conversation: 'sometimes they retire to one of their gardenhouses, as if merely on a party of pleasure'.¹¹⁷ Links between pleasure and the plague may well, in Galenic terms, have served a medical purpose: protecting against bad humours and melancholy which make one susceptible to the plague.

To embellish his ethnographic observations, Patrick referred to classical parallels from Aeschylus, Euripides, Homer and Herodotus — sources that were also discussed by Edward Pococke.¹¹⁸ Such classical references reinforced the message that the text was serious and scholarly. But Patrick went further than most travellers in the Levant writing on exotic topics; he substantiated his findings with a wide range of classical Arabic musical authorities, including 'Jacub Ebn Ishaac Al Kindi' (i.e. Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī, *aka* Alchindus or Alchendus) (801–d. after 870), Thābit ibn Qurra, Muḥammad ibn Zakariyyah al-Rāzī (c.841–926); and Ibn Sīnā, who pursued Galen's mathematical interpretation of music.¹¹⁹ Patrick identified several Arab treatises on music that were listed by Casiri in the Escorial Catalogue, including tracts by the polymath Abū Naṣr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Tarkhān al-Fārābī (c.872–950) (*aka* Alfarabius), and by 'Mohammed al-Schalany', identified as Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shalāhī.¹²⁰ Abū al-Faraj ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣbahānī (*aka* al-Iṣfahānī) (897–c.967/972), like al-Fārābī, remains part of Aleppine musical-cultural memory.¹²¹

¹¹⁶ Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic medicine*, 48.

¹¹⁷ *Aleppo*², ii, 376.

¹¹⁸ E.g. Edward Pococke's edition of Bar Hebraeus, *Specimen Historiæ Arabum*, 107.

¹¹⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, Appendix, ix.

¹²⁰ Casiri, *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana escurialensis*; *Aleppo*², i, 386–7.

¹²¹ Shannon, *Among the jasmine trees*, 28.

In order to understand how Patrick used these Arabic sources, al-Fārābī will be selected as an example. Al-Fārābī included music therapy in his treatise *Meanings of the Intellect*, in which the therapeutic effects of music on the soul were discussed.¹²² *The elements of music* by ‘Mohammed, &c. Aboo Naser al Pharabi’ is divided into three sections, the first on the origin of the art; the second on composition of both vocal and instrumental music and the third which contains various types of composition. Patrick states that it provided over thirty figures of instruments, as well as musical notes and so on’.¹²³ This tract can be identified as the *Kitāb al-mūsīqā al-kabīr* (The grand treatise on music). The version cited by Patrick is likely to be an incomplete copy of the Escorial manuscript no. 906. According to Erlanger, this is one of the most exact, and was made at Cordova.¹²⁴ The musician and Orientalist, Henry George Farmer, whose papers are lodged in the Hunterian Museum Glasgow, was more critical of Patrick’s summary: ‘Following the statement of Casiri (‘Bibl. Arab.-Hispan. Escur.’, i, 347’) several writers have imagined that the Escorial codex of al-Fārābī’s ‘Kitāb al-mūsīqī’ contains *more than thirty figures of musical instruments, together with musical notes* [his italics]. It is quite an exaggeration.’¹²⁵

Although *Aleppo*² never claims to provide a comprehensive relevant range of Arabic musical authorities, one would have expected a reference to a study on Ottoman music by the Moldavian prince, Cantemir, who made a large collection of the notions of Ottoman instrumental music. Cantemir may well even have met Alexander, as his tract on the Ottoman empire was published by A. Millar at the same time as *Aleppo*¹.¹²⁶ Nor did Patrick refer to Charles Fonton’s ‘Essai sur la musique orientale’, an early authority on ‘Oriental’ music.¹²⁷ As a result of his long residence in Constantinople, Fonton roundly criticized ethnocentric European attitudes to ‘Oriental’ music and recognized that countries have diverse musical

¹²² *Aleppo*², i, 486.

¹²³ *Aleppo*², i, 386.

¹²⁴ Higinio Angles, ‘Hispanic musical culture from the 6th to the 14th century’, *The musical quarterly* 26/4 (1940), 494–528.

¹²⁵ Henry George Farmer, *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence* (London: William Reeves, 1930; repr. 1970 and New York: Arno, 1978), 261, citing *Aleppo*², i, 386.

¹²⁶ Owen Wright, *Demetrius Cantemir*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

¹²⁷ Charles Fonton, *Essai sur la musique orientale comparée à la musique européenne* (1751; Paris: Bibliothèque nationale, Mss BN Fr na 4023 ; nor Jean Benjamin-François Laborde, *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne* (Paris: E. Onfroy, 1780).

traditions, a stance that Patrick would have appreciated. Indeed, Fonton's standpoint was based on the importance of taste (*goût*), and especially good taste (*bon goût*).¹²⁸

Instead of an Orientalist passion for the exotic, a search for 'authenticity' and accuracy underlies the Russells' descriptions of the coffee-drinking, puppet shows and storytelling, taxonomies of plants in the gardens, names of instruments, and Patrick's search for the *Arabian Nights* manuscripts, as discussed in the following section In *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*. Scott faultlessly summarizes the Russells' perspective:

the late much lamented, unassuming, and learned Dr Patrick Russell has, in his *Natural History of Aleppo*, presented more accurate and minute delineations than are to be found in the works of most, if not all eastern travellers ... His knowledge of their language, and professional estimation as a physician, procured him that intimacy of acquaintance which few Europeans have had opportunities of forming with respectable Mahomedans.¹²⁹

7.3 'The Century of the Arabian Nights'

Sari J. Nasir suggested in 1979 that the eighteenth century could well be called the century of the *Arabian Nights* for, after its publication, it had a deep and lasting impression on English literature.¹³⁰ Probably it was not until the early nineteenth century that exotic Romantic fantasies of the Orient really flourished, with its tropes of dream and symbolic use of Oriental colour,¹³¹ yet throughout the eighteenth-century, readers had become addicted to fantasy fiction. Galland's *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, one of the most significant imaginative writings of the eighteenth century, met with almost instant success when they were published in Paris in 1704.¹³² Galland intended the work to be one of instruction about the ways of life of Oriental peoples and he provided many explanatory notes in his translation.¹³³

The *Nights* used literary devices that were adopted in other unrelated works in European languages, such as magical realism and imagery, frame stories and formal

¹²⁸ Cited in Amnon Shiloah, 'An eighteenth century critic of taste and good taste', in Stephen Blum and Daniel M. Neuman (eds), *Ethnomusicology and modern music history* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 181–9 (181).

¹²⁹ Scott, *The Arabian Nights' entertainments*, i, xvii.

¹³⁰ Sari J. Nasir, *The Arabs and the English* (London: Longman, 1979), 39.

¹³¹ Rousseau and Porter, *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, 7; Mohammed Sharafuddin, *Islam and Romantic Orientalism* (London: I.B.Tauris, 1996), 136.

¹³² [Galland], *Arabian Nights' entertainments* (London: Andrew Bell, 1706–1717).

¹³³ Robert Irwin, *The Arabian Nights: a companion* (London: Allen Lane, 1995; London: Tauris Parke Paperbacks, 2004), 19.

patterning in which events are rigorously organized to create narratives that help the reader anticipate the plot structure as it unfolds. In this section, in order to explore why *Aleppo* was then so popular, the significance of the two editions will be compared, as will the Russells' relative interest in the *Nights*. The Russells' searches for and verification of authentic manuscripts, in the face of adaptations, forgeries and 'Continuations' of the *Nights*, will be outlined, as will the exploitation of *Aleppo* by those interested to verify the *Nights*; and reflect on interconnections between travel writing, pseudo-ethnographies and folk tales.

Whilst both brothers were fascinated by the *Nights*, they did not allow fictional tales to colour their own descriptions. Yet Henry Weber (1783–1818), author of Orientalist romances,¹³⁴ described the *Nights* as 'authentic portraits of Oriental nations', noting that

several travellers have borne testimony to the great popularity of this and similar collections of tales in the east where they form one of the chief amusements of the people.' ... 'The account of these recitations given by Dr Russel [sic] an author of unimpeached veracity in his *History of Aleppo* has been frequently quoted but it gives so curious a picture of the subject and forms so apt an introduction to the perusal of these tales by Europeans that its omission in this place would be unpardonable.¹³⁵

On the other hand, just as Patrick had modified *Aleppo*¹, a translator was expected to insert 'colour' and explanations into the text, to modify, add, or cut out material as the translator felt inclined; but as Captain Jonathan Scott (1754–1829) observed Patrick's 'observations were made gradually during the course of a long residence among the people he describes, nor has he ever permitted his imagination to give fanciful colouring to his portraits of men and things at the expense of judgment and truth'.¹³⁶ In the first literary translation into English of the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments* of 1811 for which he worked from Galland, Scott included extensive notes, many based on *Aleppo*²: 'it may not be unamusing to the reader to peruse in this place the description ... given by Dr Russell in his useful and entertaining *History of Aleppo* a work from which much valuable information may

¹³⁴ For example, Henry Weber and François Pétis de la Croix, *Tales of the East* (Edinburgh: J. Ballantyne and Co., 1812).

¹³⁵ Weber and de la Croix, *Tales of the East*, iii.

¹³⁶ Jonathan Scott, *The Arabian Nights' Entertainments*, 6 vols (London: Longman, Hurst et al., 1811), i, xviii.

be gained by the students of oriental literature.’¹³⁷ In his study of the *Nights*, Burton considered Patrick a reliable authority, ‘whose valuable monograph [*Aleppo*²] amply deserves study even in this our day’.¹³⁸

However, the only reference to the *Nights* in *Aleppo*¹ described how ‘many of the people of fashion are lulled to rest by... stories told out of the *Arabian Nights’ Entertainments*, or some other book of the same kind, which their women are taught to repeat for that purpose.’¹³⁹ Tales were recounted by story-tellers in coffee houses or retold by women in the privacy of their bedrooms, to send their men-folk to sleep, as Patrick described: ‘some of the voluptuous Grandees are lulled to sleep by soft music, placed in an adjoining chamber, or by Arabian Tales, which their slaves are taught to read, or repeat.’¹⁴⁰ Story-tellers sometimes broke off in the middle of stories leaving listeners to speculate on the probable outcome until next day.¹⁴¹ Scott included the following excerpt from *Aleppo*² and commented that ‘Dr. Russell, in his *History of Aleppo*, a work which for its fidelity of information cannot be too much praised, gives us the following account of Oriental story-telling’.¹⁴²

The recitation of Eastern fables and tales partakes somewhat of a dramatic performance; it is not merely a simple narrative; the story is animated by the manner and action of the speaker. A variety of other story-books, besides the *Arabian Nights’ Entertainments* (which under that title are little known at Aleppo) furnish materials for the story-teller, who, by combining the incidents of the different tales, and varying the catastrophe of such as he had related before, gives them an air of novelty even to persons who at first imagine they are listening to tales with which they are acquainted.¹⁴³

The *Nights* were criticized for providing escapist fantasies that lacked any element of the ‘real’ Orient’.¹⁴⁴ If the Western observer was hardly able to extract himself from Orientalist fantasies about imagined cosmopolitan cities, then this places the Russells in a particularly interesting position for their descriptions were used to illustrate or supplement literary Orientalist fantasies — but such images were based on the Russells’ sound and sometimes mundane observations. Johnson

¹³⁷ Scott, *The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments*, vi, 414.

¹³⁸ Burton, ‘Terminal essay’, 78.

¹³⁹ *Aleppo*¹, 98; abbreviated in *Aleppo* (1757), 81.

¹⁴⁰ *Aleppo*², i, 145.

¹⁴¹ *Aleppo*², i, 148–50.

¹⁴² Scott, *Arabian Nights’ Entertainments*, i, ii.

¹⁴³ *Aleppo*², i, 148–9.

¹⁴⁴ Said, *Orientalism*, 1–3, 5.

published his escapist fantasy novel, *Rasselas*¹⁴⁵ in 1759, infused with ‘Oriental’ references and vignettes that no doubt drew upon *Aleppo*¹ which he reviewed in 1756.¹⁴⁶ It would be interesting to speculate how much William Beckford of Fonthill (1760–1844)¹⁴⁷ was influenced by *Aleppo* when he wrote his Orientalist fantasy, *Vathek*.¹⁴⁸ Beckford was inspired by *Bibliothèque orientale*, as was evident from Beckford’s apparently scholarly footnotes.¹⁴⁹ This entertaining Gothic novel, set in a pseudo-Eastern setting, itself ignored any reality (geographic, ethnographic, or historic).

In contrast to the Oriental novel, *Vathek*, there were no descriptions of exotic stories full of genies, magic, supernatural birds and erotic veiled dancing girls in *Aleppo*.¹⁵⁰ Instead, Patrick searched for authentic Arabic manuscripts of the *Nights* but found no definitive text in Syria:

It has been already mentioned, that the *Arabian Nights Entertainments* known in England, were hardly to be found at Aleppo. A manuscript containing two hundred and eight nights, was the only one I met with, and, as a particular favour, procured liberty to have a copy taken from it. This copy was circulated successively to more than a score of Harems, and I was assured by some of the *Ullama*, whom the women had sometimes induced to be of the audience, that till then they were ignorant that such a book existed.¹⁵¹

Patrick tracked down Oriental manuscripts in libraries across Europe, including the Vatican, Bodleian and the Escorial and other Royal collections, and in Florence, Leiden and Paris.¹⁵² He discovered there was no standard version of the *Nights*.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁵ Samuel Johnson, *Rasselas* (London: R. and J. Dodsley and W. Johnston, 1759).

¹⁴⁶ Samuel Johnson (ed.), *The Literary Magazine* 1 (June 1756), 80–86. Johnson also used Knolles, *Generall historie of the Turkes* and Ottaviano Bon, ‘Description of the Grand Signor’s Seraglio’, ed. John Greaves, in idem, *Miscellaneous works*, ed. Thomas Birch (London: J. Hughes, for J. Brindley; and C. Corbett, 1737). Gwin J. Kolb, *Rasselas and other tales* (Yale University Press, 1990), xxxiii, wrongly attributes the essay to Withers.

¹⁴⁷ Curiously, Patrick Brydone, William Robertson’s son-in-law, was tutor to his cousin, William Beckford of Somerly (d.1799).

¹⁴⁸ William Thomas Beckford, *An Arabian Tale (The history of the Caliph Vathek), ... with notes ... by Reverend Samuel Henley* (London: J. Johnson, 1786). Montagu’s manuscript was drafted between 1780 and 1786 (Fatma Moussa-Mahmoud, ‘A manuscript translation of the “Arabian Nights” in the Beckford Papers’, *Journal of Arabic Literature* 7 (1976), 7–23 (12).)

¹⁴⁹ Irwin, *Arabian Nights: companion*, 15, 245–54, on Beckford’s *Vathek*. John Rodenbeck, ‘Thomas Hope’, www.thomashope.org.uk/background.htm (12 August 2012).

¹⁵⁰ Kabbani, *Myths of Orient*, 23.

¹⁵¹ *Aleppo*², i, 251.

¹⁵² *Aleppo*², i, 386; ii, 90, 395, Appendix, xix.

¹⁵³ *Aleppo*², i, 385–6 (Note XXXVIII); [Patrick] Russell, ‘On the authenticity of the Arabian Nights Tales’, 91–92. Only from 1984 was a standard text in Arabic published: Muhsin Mahdi, *The thousand and one nights (Alf layla wa layla)* (Leiden: Brill, 1984). Marina Warner, ‘Introduction’, *The book of the thousand nights and one night* (London: Folio Society, 2003).

In order to discover the location and/or identification of any of his own original manuscripts collected by Patrick, his will was checked.¹⁵⁴ A codicil reads ‘Arabic mss; *Arabian Nights*, 1 vol’ along with other works including Odes of Hāfiz in Persian, ‘*Sirat Antar* 3 vols’,¹⁵⁵ ‘Proverbs 1 volume’,¹⁵⁶ ‘Tales etc 5 vols’, which were left to his brother, Claud. Intriguingly, in a letter to Patrick dated 22 September 1787 sent from Chrishna nagur (Krishnanagar, West Bengal), Jones wrote: ‘Pray, my dear Sir, have you the Oriental manuscripts of my friend Dr Alexander Russel? He lent me three, which I returned; the *Sucardan*,¹⁵⁷ the *Banquet of Physicians*,¹⁵⁸ and a beautiful *Hafez*.¹⁵⁹ If you have them, I shall beg leave to read them again, when we meet in Europe.’¹⁶⁰

Excitingly, by studying Mingana’s *Catalogue*,¹⁶¹ Boogert has already rediscovered some of these manuscripts including a volume of *Nights*, in the John Rylands Library in Manchester University and that they had been catalogued by Alphone Mingana (1878–1937) in 1934.¹⁶² Curiously, there are two possible Arabic manuscripts listed by Mingana.¹⁶³ Further research is needed to discover if Arabic Ms 646 which is listed as ‘probably late sixteenth century’ is associated in any way with MS Ar 647 (Russell’s manuscript). Furthermore, S.H. Lewin, an antiquarian

¹⁵⁴ NAL, Prob. 11/1430, fols 236^v–238^v.

¹⁵⁵ An incomplete copy of *Sīrat ‘Antar ibn Shaddād*; possibly used by William Jones. Folk stories, including ‘Antar, were part of a story-telling tradition (Boogert, ‘Antar overseas’).

¹⁵⁶ Patrick’s collection of over 1,800 proverbs, some in Syrian dialect; now in Manchester Rylands Library.

¹⁵⁷ Identified as *Kitāb al-Sukkardān wa-‘ajā’ib al-buldān* by Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā Ibn Abī Ḥajalah (1325–1374/ 5). In 1767 Jones borrowed the manuscript from Alexander, transcribed and published snippets in ‘Traite sur la poesie orientale’ (*The Works of William Jones* (London: J. Stockdale and J. Walker, 1807), i, 135; *Works*, xii, 179–80). It described a subterranean passage by which the Nile enters the Great Pyramid (Richard William Howard Vyse, *Operations Carried on at the Pyramids of Gizeh in 1837* (London: Fraser, 1840), 350–1).

¹⁵⁸ See Chapter 5.

¹⁵⁹ Jones used Hāfiz as a source for his *A Grammar of the Persian Language* (London: W. and J. Richardson, 1771), possibly using Alexander’s manuscript. Garland Cannon, ‘Sir William Jones and the New Pluralism over Languages and Cultures’, *The Yearbook of English Studies*, vol. 28: *Eighteenth-Century Lexis and Lexicography* (1998), 128–43 (128–30).

¹⁶⁰ *Works of William Jones*, ii, 127. They never met again in Europe for Jones remained in India, a judge of the High Court in Calcutta from 1783 to his death in 1794.

¹⁶¹ Alphonse Mingana (comp.), *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts in the John Ryland’s Library* (Manchester: John Ryland’s Library, 1934), 418, 861–2, 1033–34.

¹⁶² Several are in the John Rylands Library, Manchester: MS Ar. 259, (possibly 646), 647, Miscellaneous stories (MS Ar. 649, 650, 651, 652); Aesop’s fables; Persian tales including ‘the camel and the ass’ (MS Ar. 653) and possibly others (705?). Mingana, *Catalogue*, 416–8, 887–91, 1033–34.

¹⁶³ *Arabian Nights* (MS Ar. 646 [706]/MS Ar. 647). in Mingana, *Catalogue*, 886.

who collected Indian manuscripts, bought the manuscript in 1827 ‘from the collection of Dr Russell, author of the *History of Aleppo*’ for £1 1s 6d,¹⁶⁴ presumably when Claud or Leonora Russell’s estates were sold. It was subsequently owned by the Persian scholar, Nathaniel Bland (1803–1865), from Oxford.¹⁶⁵ The Arabic manuscript of the *Nights* in Manchester (conventionally designed (T)) belongs to the same Syrian tradition as Galland’s Arabic manuscript and with the same general content and sequence of stories. They are in a simple, direct style and are thought to be masterpieces of narrative technique that reflect a well-established repertoire of professional storytellers.

Many scholars have searched for the second volume of the Russell *Arabian Nights*’ Arabic manuscripts. The German Orientalist, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (1774–1856), lists ‘V. Dr Russell’s MS. from Aleppo (224 Nights)’¹⁶⁶ Patrick’s single volume of the *Nights* in Manchester contains 141 ‘Tales’.¹⁶⁷ The second volume (if it exists) still needs to be located. Referring to Dr Russell’s letter in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* (February 1799),¹⁶⁸ The Scottish-American Orientalist, Duncan Black MacDonald (1863–1943) who wrote a succession of fascinating articles about the *Nights*,¹⁶⁹ made a plea in 1911, asking for information on the

¹⁶⁴ Mingana, *Catalogue*, 886, states that the manuscript is in ‘clear European hand’. See also *Aleppo observed*, 229.

¹⁶⁵ Henry Beveridge, ‘Bland, Nathaniel (1803–1865)’, *ODNB*, 2004. Bland, wealthy scholar of Persian and Arabic, a gambler who lost his fortune, then committed suicide in Belgium. Lord Crawford purchased Bland’s collection (including three Russell manuscripts) in 1866 from Bernard Quaritch, booksellers in London (Boogert, ‘Antar overseas’, 344–6) and sold them to the John Rylands Library in 1901. Michael Kerney, *Bibliotheca Lindesiana: hand-list of Oriental manuscripts* (Aberdeen: privately printed, 1898), includes 204 MSS purchased by Lord Crawford in 1866 from Nathaniel Bland so there may be further Russell manuscripts there.

¹⁶⁶ Joseph, Freiherr von Hammer-Purgstall, *Der Tausend und eine Nacht noch nicht übersezte Märchen, Erzählungen und Anekdoten* (Stuttgart: [s.n.], 1823).

¹⁶⁷ MS Ar 647. Mohsen Mahdi, *Part III. The Thousand and One Nights* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), iii, 262–8 and plate 39–41; 56, 59, 91, 125, 197, 216, 219, 235, 240, 277, discusses Russell’s collection further: 181 lists Russell’s manuscript as MS Ar 647 in the John Rylands Library, which Mahdi codes as ‘T’. Burton, ‘Terminal essay’, viii, vii–ix, on the contents of the Tales in Russell’s collection. Victor Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes* (Liège: H. Vaillant-Carmanne, 1892–1923), iv, 209, also lists the manuscript.

¹⁶⁸ A note by Duncan MacDonald with Charles C. Torrey, ‘The newly discovered Arabic text of ‘Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves’, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (January 1911), 221–9.

¹⁶⁹ Duncan B. MacDonald, ‘Lost MSS. of the “Arabian Nights” and a projected edition of that of Galland’, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1911), 219–21.

location of Patrick's lost volume.¹⁷⁰ Even as late as 1932, in what was otherwise a meticulous survey, Macdonald was puzzled by Patrick's references in *Aleppo* to two volumes of the *Nights*.¹⁷¹

Manuscript copies were made from Patrick's *Nights* in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An outline of the extraordinary and newly discovered interconnections between the Russell family (especially in India) and these various manuscript versions is provided briefly here. They include the original Russell manuscript (T), a copy (T₁)¹⁷² collected by the Scottish physician and naturalist, Dr John Leyden (1755–1811), probably copied from Patrick's manuscript (T) shortly before Leyden's death in 1811; and it was this version that was used for the first Arabic printed version, the 'First Calcutta Edition' (C₁), as has been proved by Muhsin Mahdi (1926–2007),¹⁷³ though textual analysis had been undertaken by Hermann Zotenberg (1836–1894).¹⁷⁴ Intriguingly it was the C₁ edition that was used for the new translation of the *Nights*,¹⁷⁵ and thus it is historically linked, if indirectly, to the Russell family.

There were interconnections between the Russells and other *Nights*' manuscripts collected by Patrick's friends: Jones, Scott,¹⁷⁶ Captain Edward Wortley Montagu, FRS (Constantinople, 1713–Padua, 1776)¹⁷⁷ and James Anderson (1758–1833).¹⁷⁸ In the eighteenth century, gentlemen-scholars were absorbed in

¹⁷⁰ D.B. MacDonald, 'Lost MSS. of the "Arabian Nights"'. Can these be Mss Cantab. Add. 3482–3499? Edward Granville Browne, *A hand-list of the Muhammadan manuscripts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 332–6).

¹⁷¹ D.B. MacDonald, 'A bibliographical and literary study of the first appearance of the "Arabian Nights" in Europe', *The Library Quarterly* 2/4 (1932), 387–420 (409).

¹⁷² British Library: India Office Collections. MS 2699.

¹⁷³ Mahdi, *Thousand and One Nights*, iii, 255; idem, *The Thousand and One Nights* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 91.

¹⁷⁴ Hermann Zotenberg, *Histoire d'Alâ al-Dîn, ou, La lampe merveilleuse: texte arabe* (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1888, 216, cited in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leyden: Brill, 1931–1936), (hereinafter *ET*), 18–19.

¹⁷⁵ Robert Irwin, Malcolm Lyons and Ursula Lyons, *The Arabian Nights*. i, *Tales of 1,001 Nights* (London: Penguin Classics, 2008).

¹⁷⁶ Jonathan Scott (1754–1829). Persian Secretary to Hastings in India to whom he dedicated his *Tales*; founder member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal with Jones. Returned to England c.1785; author of *Tales, anecdotes, and letters. Translated from the Arabic and Persian* (Shrewsbury: J. and W. Eddoes, 1800), based on a fragment of the *Arabian Nights* purchased by James Anderson in Bengal and containing some of Galland's *Tales* (*The Critical Review* 29 (1800), 54–58).

¹⁷⁷ Hereinafter, Edward.

¹⁷⁸ James Anderson. Born in Edinburgh, son of David Anderson, WS (1707–1786), Factor to the family of the Earl of Wemyss; Madras European regiment; Persian interpreter, founding member of

authenticating Arabic manuscripts of the *Nights*, including those collected by Edward and the Russells. Several articles were published in *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, including an important article on authenticity by Patrick that supplemented his text of *Aleppo*².¹⁷⁹

Links between these manuscript copies and the Russells will be briefly outlined. Alexander did not mention collecting a copy of the *Nights* in *Aleppo*¹. However, about 1766, Jones whilst still a student in Oxford apparently borrowed a manuscript of the *Nights* from Alexander.¹⁸⁰ This might have been the same manuscript mentioned in *Aleppo*² or another that Patrick acquired. Subsequently Jones 'procured from a learned friend at Aleppo an incomplete manuscript now lost but evidently closely akin to that of Galland'.¹⁸¹ It could have been Alexander's or Patrick's copy (T); another copy made from a manuscript in the King's Library in Paris or copied from from Edward's manuscript.¹⁸² There were further connections: parts of Russell's manuscript were printed by John Richardson in his *Arabic Grammar* — but Richardson used Edward's manuscript for his literal translation.¹⁸³

There were some potentially significant connections and differences between the Russells and Edward. In contrast to the more sombre Russell brothers, Edward was the wildly eccentric and disinherited son of the ambassador to the Porte, Sir Edward Wortley Montagu (1678–1761) and Lady Mary — who thought their son was insane.¹⁸⁴ Edward, described in the Royal Society records as a 'traveller and

Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta in 1784 with his brother, David (1750–1828), who helped Hastings to prepare his defence for his impeachment in 1785. David and James collected Arabic and Persian manuscripts in India under Hasting's patronage.

¹⁷⁹ PR, 'On the authenticity of the Arabian Nights Tales', the last in a series of letters to *The Gentleman's Magazine*.

¹⁸⁰ 'John Rylands Library, Manchester: MS Ar. 264–265, copied in 1766 by William Jones from the MS borrowed from Alexander Russell', Mingana, *Catalogue*, 426–27; cf. van den Boogert, 'Antar observed', 348.

¹⁸¹ D.B. Macdonald, 'Alf-laila wa-laila', *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden: Brill, 1913–1936), 17–21 (19).

¹⁸² H. Beveridge, 'A supposed Missing MS. of the Arabian Nights', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* (Jan. 1913), 170–1. Beveridge argued that the copy that Jones borrowed was Edward's or made by White. According to correspondence between Jones and Patrick, it was a copy lent to Jones by Alexander.

¹⁸³ Patrick owned a copy of Richardson's *A Grammar of the Arabic language* (London: William Richardson, 1776) sponsored by EIC. Macdonald, *ET*¹.

¹⁸⁴ Edward would have been an embarrassment to his sister Mary, the wife of John Stuart, third Earl of Bute (1713–1792), Prime Minister (1762–1763),

criminal',¹⁸⁵ was a frequent truant as a child and became a gambler, a playboy who married at least four times, and was the father of several illegitimate children. Edward arrived in Egypt in 1762/1763 and travelled extensively in the Middle East, staying in Egypt between the spring of 1764 and 1773. For a period he lived in Rosetta.

Furthermore, Edward studied Arabic and Turkish seriously at Leiden in 1741 under Professor Albert Schultens. Although Edward never returned to England after 1761, in which time he travelled widely around Europe and the Middle East, including the Levant, he enrolled in Leiden as *linguarium orientalium cultor* again in 1761–1762 before going to the Middle East. He also collected Oriental books and manuscripts, including an important manuscript of the *Nights*' cycle in six volumes,¹⁸⁶ probably compiled in Damietta or Rosetta and commissioned by Edward between February and September 1764.¹⁸⁷ In his will Edward bequeathed his Arabic and Turkish manuscripts to his reputed son, Fortunatus (formerly Mas'oud), possibly half-Nubian, whom he brought from Rosetta and was living with him in Venice from 1774.¹⁸⁸

However, Alexander may have met him through the Royal Society; they were both in London between 1752 and 1761 — but Edward was an absentee MP enjoying Paris. When Edward travelled in the Middle East, William and Mr Marsh at the

¹⁸⁵ GB 0117 MS 78 Four letters from Edward to Sir William Watson, 1773–1779.

¹⁸⁶ Surprisingly, *Aleppo observed*, 226, may have confused father and son but it was the junior Edward who collected the Arabic manuscript of the *Nights*, known as the Montagu or Montague manuscript now in the Bodleian. Von Hammer called this 'Scott's MS. (Wortley Montague)'. Wortley Montague [sic] MS 550–556 was discussed by Burton, *Arabian Nights*, xv, ix–x, who listed the names of its various Tales (Burton, *Arabian Nights*, xv, 345–51) but considered them to be 'rudely written, with great carelessness and frequent corrections'. Burton used the Montagu manuscript for his fifth volume of his *Supplemental nights of the book of the thousand nights and a night* (Benares: Kameshastra Society, 1888) (Moussa-Mahmoud, 'A manuscript translation', 10).

¹⁸⁷ Apparently, with the help of Zamir, a Turk, Beckford roughly translated some stories from this manuscript into French (Irwin, *Arabian Nights: companion*, 247). There is also an English translation (Moussa-Mahmoud, 'A manuscript translation', 21–23).

¹⁸⁸ Bentley, *Literary anecdotes*, iv, 655–6. Fortunatus, whose guardian was Palmer, came of age in 1783 but died in 1787, aged twenty-five and bequeathed these manuscripts to John English Dolben, fourth Baronet, a friend of Edward Wortley Montagu III. The manuscripts were then acquired by Professor Joseph White, Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, who gave them to Scott who sold them through Leigh & Sotheby to the Bodleian Library, Oxford for £50 in 1802. MSS. Bodl. Or. 550–7. Described by Scott in an appendix to the seven volumes (Bodl. Or. 557). This manuscript is not to be confused with another manuscript of the *Arabian Nights* in Christ Church, Oxford. Moussa-Mahmoud, 'A manuscript translation'; *Aleppo observed*, 226–7; Isobel Grundy, 'Montagu, Edward Wortley (1713–1776)', *ODNB*.

Turkey Company, William Belcher, a banker, and James Palmer, his lawyer, were his contacts and mentors, the last two managing his financial arrangements.¹⁸⁹ Edward met Niebuhr in or near Aleppo in 1766,¹⁹⁰ and must have met Patrick there about the same time, if not on other occasions.¹⁹¹ Letters by Edward from 1773 from Rosetta and Venice to an ‘eminent Physician’ in London have been published and from their content it was more than likely that these were addressed to Patrick.¹⁹²

Although Patrick admired Galland’s initial translations, especially after he compared Galland’s ‘Tales’ with separate ‘Tales’ that he brought back himself, he was sceptical about subsequent Continuations.¹⁹³ Patrick commented on the lack of authenticity of other *Nights* that were ineptly translated by a Syrian priest, Dom Denis Chavis, who dictated them to Jacques Cazotte (1717–1792).¹⁹⁴ Patrick doubted their authenticity until he had checked the text against his own manuscript.¹⁹⁵

Patrick translated some additional ‘Tales’ for William Beloe who published them in 1795 in his *Miscellanies*,¹⁹⁶ as Beloe described in his preface¹⁹⁷ and recorded in *The Analytical Review*:

The Oriental Apologues, Mr B informs us, he received from Dr Russell, who brought them from Aleppo. Dr Russell dictated to Mr B from the Arabic, and Mr B performed the office of a scribe. Great care, he tells us, has been taken to make the version tenaciously faithful. As these tales, it is believed, never appeared before in any European language, Mr B

¹⁸⁹ William Russell was mentioned in Montagu’s letter to his banker William Belcher MP for Southwark, of Lombard Street, in March 1763 (John Nichols, *Literary anecdotes* (London: printed for the author, 1812–1816), ix, 793). James Palmer kept Edward’s library of Oriental manuscripts, including his manuscript of the *Arabian Nights*, whilst the latter was travelling.

¹⁹⁰ Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien und andern umligenden Landern*, 3 vols (Copenhagen: Nicolaus Möller, 1837), iii, 28–32, provides amusing anecdotes about Edward.

¹⁹¹ For example, in August 1772, Edward wrote to Varsy about his plans to visit Belleville in Aleppo: i.e. after Patrick had left Aleppo (John Doran, *In and about Drury Lane* (London: Bentley, 1881), ii, 319).

¹⁹² Samuel Bentley, *Literary anecdotes of the eighteenth century* (London: Nichols and Bentley, 1812), iv, 625–56. The letters certainly mention topics and personalities known specifically to Patrick including Arabic texts, the plague, meteorological observations, Dr [Mordach] Mackenzie, Sir John Pringle, Bruce, Murray, Banks, Solander, Jones, Phipps’ Arctic expedition in which William’s inventions was tested and so on.

¹⁹³ PR, ‘On the authenticity of the Arabian Nights Tales’, 92.

¹⁹⁴ Denis Chavis and Jacques Cazotte, *Arabian tales* (Edinburgh: G. Mudie, 1792).

¹⁹⁵ Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, MS de fonds arabe no 3637. *Aleppo*², i, 386. Russell, ‘On the authenticity of the Arabian Nights Tales’.

¹⁹⁶ *Aleppo observed*, 235, lists Patrick’s translations of the nineteen additional ‘Tales’ published in Beloe, *Miscellanies*, iii, 3–82.

¹⁹⁷ Beloe, ‘Preface’, *Miscellanies*. Boogert, ‘Antar overseas’, 348.

hopes, that in giving them to the world he has performed no useless or dishonourable office.¹⁹⁸

Highly entertaining, they were undoubtedly genuine and agree in style with the ‘Tales’ of the *Nights* in Patrick’s original manuscript (T) though they were probably never part of that text. They include the stories of the ‘Caliph Robber, the Power of Destiny, Halechalbe, Sinkarib, Bohetzad and his Ten Viziers, and Habib, or the Arabian Knight,’ and a version of the amusing Tale, ‘Básim the blacksmith’,¹⁹⁹ but might have benefited from additional explanatory notes from Patrick. The *Miscellanies* was a collection of literary anecdotes, a genre that flourished during the Romantic period when literacy was being extended and reading was in vogue. Such anthologies were usually compilations of ready-made information copied from other books,²⁰⁰ so to include Patrick’s original material was somewhat exceptional. As a critic described, ‘here then is enough to gratify the taste of very various readers; and, on examination, we can say, to afford a very rational gratification.’²⁰¹ Perhaps the ‘Tales’ were added to attract the readers’ immediate attention, at a time when many books were being published.

Fascination with the *Nights* continued to attract readers into the 1790s and beyond. For example, in *Remarks on the Arabian Nights*,²⁰² Reverend Richard Hole²⁰³ imaginatively reconstructed exotic places in a style that preceded later Romantic tales — and was fiercely criticized by Patrick in his article of 1797. Hole claimed that far from being a literary imposition, the fictional ‘Tales’ were based on reality.²⁰⁴ To justify this, Hole cited one or two travel accounts, including those by Grose²⁰⁵ and Capper,²⁰⁶ who advised his own readers ‘by all means to peruse these *Arabian Nights’ entertainments* before you set out on your journey’.²⁰⁷ Hole also

¹⁹⁸ Review of Beloe’s *Miscellanies*. *Analytical Review* 22 (1795), 627–9.

¹⁹⁹ Apart from Beloe’s translation of this Tale, ‘Basem: or, The blacksmith. An Oriental apologue’, Beloe, *Miscellanies*, iii.

²⁰⁰ H.J. Jackson, *Romantic Readers* (London: Yale University Press, 2005), 40.

²⁰¹ *Gentleman’s Magazine* 78 (1795), 589.

²⁰² Richard Hole, *Remarks on the Arabian Nights’ Entertainments, in which the origin of Sindbad’s voyages, and other Oriental fictions, is particularly considered* (London: Cadell, 1797).

²⁰³ David Hill Radcliffe, ‘Hole, Richard (bap.1746, d.1803)’, *ODNB*.

²⁰⁴ Martha P. Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England in the eighteenth century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1908), xv.

²⁰⁵ Grose, *A voyage to the East Indies*. Patrick used the third edition of 1772 (*Aleppo*², ii, 156, 423).

²⁰⁶ Surprisingly, Patrick did not mention Capper, *Observations*, in *Aleppo*².

²⁰⁷ Capper, *Observations*, 7, 13.

suggested that readers should read Ives's *Voyage from England to India* — but not *Aleppo*.²⁰⁸ In 1836 Lane claimed that the *Nights*²⁰⁹ 'presents most admirable pictures of the manners and customs of the Arabs'²¹⁰ and that 'if the English reader possessed a close translation of it, with sufficient illustrative notes, I might almost have spared myself the labour of the present undertaking' of writing *Manners and Customs*.²¹¹

7.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, exotic aspects of the two editions of *Aleppo* were discussed in the light of three literary movements in the eighteenth century — the Scottish Enlightenment, 'the Century of the *Arabian Nights*' and Romanticism — in order to assess the impact of changes in literary genres on the two editions. Although many of the themes and topics in *Aleppo* are exotic, the Russells were unsentimental in their observations. Furthermore, their accounts of exotic subjects were couched within a wider socio-economic framework for they described an elaborate local political and religious hierarchy,²¹² as well as symbols of ethnic and religious differences.

An examination of *Aleppo*² showed evidence of the indirect influences of the philosophical perspectives about taste and pleasure of the Scottish Enlightenment that were scarcely to be found in *Aleppo*¹, where attention to detail and rational observation coloured its descriptions. An exotic topic, music, was used to demonstrate how the Russells supported their observations with a range of literary apparatuses. These included the analysis of a relevant illustration; a glance at the accuracy of Arabic terminology for musical instruments used by the brothers; and Patrick's additional bibliographic authorities.

By situating the two editions within the 'Century of the *Arabian Nights*', an opportunity to explore why *Aleppo* was fashionable in the eighteenth century was provided. The popular pseudo-ethnographies of the *Nights*, that became a metaphor for imagination, provided an alternative to natural histories and illuminated travel

²⁰⁸ Hole, *Remarks*.

²⁰⁹ Edward W. Lane *The Thousand and One Nights, commonly called, in England, the Arabian Nights' entertainments* (London: Charles Knight 1838–1841).

²¹⁰ Lane, *Manners and Customs*, i, v.

²¹¹ Lane, 'Preface', *Manners and customs*.

²¹² *Aleppo*², i, 100–15, 324, 336, 342, 350; Marcus, *Eve of modernity*, 17, 64.

narratives such as *Aleppo*. There were several links between copies of the *Nights* and the Russells that had not previously been explored: their verification of manuscripts, Continuations and associated Tales; the exploitation of *Aleppo* by those interested in the *Nights*; and the interconnections between travel writing, pseudo-ethnographies and folk tales. One can conclude that the *Nights* mediated between the strangeness of imaginary travel and the familiarity of the popular folk tale; whilst travelogues, like *Aleppo*, introduced the eighteenth-century reader to the everyday and exotic.

Whilst *Aleppo*¹ was published at the height of the first phase of Scottish Enlightenment with its emphasis on rational objectivity, *Aleppo*² appeared when Romanticism was flourishing and at a time when emphasis was on personal expression of emotion and imagination. Although Alexander and Patrick discussed romantic topics, Patrick's discussion was not Romantic. There were no particular heroes, nor was the 'Turk' particularly demonized. Nor was there any admiration for the 'Oriental Pastoral' that was found in descriptions of the desert by Robert Wood²¹³ and nineteenth-century Romantic biblical scholars.²¹⁴ The Russells were not obsessed by ruins and colourful and romantic landscapes. However, *Aleppo*² incorporated certain kinds of nature (landscapes, seasons, exotic specimens) alongside music, dance, storytelling and romantic tales; all topics that appear frequently in Romantic literature with its emphasis on natural harmony, imagination and a quest for illusion. Whilst there are elements of nature, imagination and unconventionality, the edited version of *Aleppo*, published thirty-eight years after the first edition, still belonged essentially in style, substance and approach to the Scottish Enlightenment: it was, after all, Alexander's original creation. Although Alexander and Patrick discussed romantic topics, Patrick's 'natural history' was not romantic,²¹⁵ nor did he allow Romanticized stereotypes to narrow his enlightened perceptions.

²¹³ Wood, *Ruins of Palmyra*, 3.

²¹⁴ William Fleming, *Gazetteer of the Old and New Testaments* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Printing, 1838), 125, on the hospitality of the Bedouin.

²¹⁵ Merrill, *Romance of Victorian natural history*; Andrew Cunningham, and Nicholas Jardine (eds), *Romanticism and the Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Part IV Epilogue

Chapter 8

Conclusions and future projects

8.0 Drawing Conclusions

This chapter will draw together significant points raised in the body of this thesis and suggest future lines of research. In September 2010 Boogert's *Aleppo observed*, the first ever monograph on the Russells' *Aleppo* was published. That publication and this thesis confirm that the Russells' work appears reliable, even by modern academic standards¹ — but the value of *Aleppo* still needs to be more thoroughly recognized. Hopefully, new insights have been created in this thesis that will re-energize multidisciplinary interest and re-establish the importance of Enlightenment 'Orientalist' scholarship, as illustrated by *Aleppo*, across a wide range of modern disciplines. In addition several conclusions can be drawn from this study.

(1) The Russells: authorship and identity (Chapter 2)

It is clear from even the most cursory reading of *Aleppo* that Alexander and Patrick were likable characters and talented professionals, and that Patrick, in particular, was an exceptional polyglot, sophisticated polymath and gentleman-scholar. The Russells were gentlemen of the highest integrity and ability, and physicians and naturalists *par excellence*. Even after they left Aleppo, the Russells' energy and enthusiasm continued: tolerant, objective, usually diplomatic and sometimes forthright. Unlike James Bruce's descriptions of Abyssinia which were not believed in London on Bruce's return, the Russells' descriptions in *Aleppo* have an air of authority, grounded in long residence in Aleppo.

¹ Boogert, 'Patrick Russell', 230, citing Starkey, 'No myopic mirage', and eadem, 'Mercantile Gentlemen and Inquisitive Travellers'.

One can contemplate whether each brother conveyed a different image of Aleppo, or whether *Aleppo*² was simply a more embellished version of Alexander's. Complex interrelationships between the two editions of *Aleppo* are evident as are the high quality of research. Whilst Alexander based his text on his personal observations, Patrick added his own and comparative detail from many sources. One can conclude that whilst the image of Aleppo they convey itself remains relatively constant, if more detailed in *Aleppo*², there were a series of external factors that meant the topics were differently and variously explained.

(2) Cosmopolitan environments and the Scottish Enlightenment (Chapter 2 onwards)

Cosmopolitan environments provided intellectual inspiration for the Russells, as for many other Scots. Social and intellectual networks in three major cosmopolitan cities, Edinburgh, Aleppo and London, influenced their observations and writing. As described in Chapter 2, Edinburgh, where the Russells grew up, was a vibrant, dynamic and intellectually exciting place, ready to embrace the new philosophies and architecture of the Scottish Enlightenment, notwithstanding traditional frameworks of kirk, landed gentry, lawyers and commerce. Connections between important Scottish families and patterns of patronage were important and may help to explain why and how the Russells went to work in Aleppo.

It has been evident from the brief synopsis of their lives and writings in Chapter 2 that 'men of letters', such as the Russells and their intellectual circles, had more in common and shared many of the same values with other members of the 'republic of letters', whatever their geographical location, whether it be in Scotland, France, the Netherlands, the Americas or India than they had with the uneducated masses.² Scottish *literati*, like the Russells, shared a cosmopolitan spirit, sensibility and sense of sympathy with people of other cultures, and this was enhanced by the Russells' capabilities as physicians.

(3) Popularity of *Aleppo* (Chapter 3)

Intrigued by the transformation of one edition into another and anxious to discover what made the two editions popular, signs of the fame and status of the two editions

² Angela McCarthy (ed.), *A global clan* (London: IB Tauris, 2006).

were investigated in Parts II and III. *Aleppo* had a place in a newly revived genre of ‘books of travel’ as well as ‘natural history’ and was a popular read in the eighteenth century (Chapter 3). Despite or because of critical reviews in literary periodicals, some by the most famous literary figures of the time, the somewhat unrefined *Aleppo*¹ enjoyed an undoubted reputation. *Aleppo*² also received excellent if sometimes muted reviews.

More recently, interest in *Aleppo* has lapsed, despite its immense popularity in the eighteenth century. Modern scholarly works tend to focus on a single theme and explore it in depth via a succession of motifs or subjects. This modern trend makes it particularly difficult to ‘translate’ the eighteenth-century style into something with which the modern reader is comfortable or familiar. To appreciate eighteenth-century ‘natural history’, a modern reader of *Aleppo* needs to take a step away from the ‘single-stranded’ approach of histories of the twentieth century, begin to appreciate a multi-stranded text and value multi-disciplinary models. This can be an excellent philosophical viewpoint from which to begin to understand either edition but when anyone tries to grasp the interrelationships between the two editions as well, the whole exercise can become overwhelming.

(4) Structures and literary apparatuses (Chapter 4)

Although *Aleppo observed* provided an excellent introduction to the book, the aim of this thesis was to reveal, for the first time, intriguing literary connections and differences between the two editions of *Aleppo* and explore how *Aleppo*² was constructed from *Aleppo*¹. Whilst Alexander’s earlier edition was a bit rough-and-ready, Patrick admirably transformed the original text into something quite different. Alexander used various different types of literary apparatuses to frame his account and Patrick developed these devices to transform the first edition into the second. Interpersonal and bibliographic references were used throughout *Aleppo*² as explicit textual interventions. The web of interrelationships between the two editions of *Aleppo* is complex and was described and explored in Chapter 4. Part of the success of the later version was Patrick’s ability to create a balance between his dead brother’s authority and an awareness of his own editing process.

Earlier literary models were identified for the first time in this thesis and the range of bibliographic references used in the editions was identified and explored. It would be facile to suggest that *Aleppo*² was over-textualized, for it is an excellent record of the bibliographic sources that were available in the eighteenth century. A cacophony of authorities was provided in *Aleppo*²: authorities which were used in a variety of ways: sometimes to support Patrick's or his brother's observations, sometimes to add colour to the text, sometimes analysed and distilled. However, unlike d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale*, Gibbon's *Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire* or Rennell's comparative geography, which, as a result of the many quotes and associated source material, can all be truly indigestible,³ *Aleppo*'s sources are not completely overwhelming. 'Unpacking' these authorities has presented a serious challenge to any modern scholar. References to travel writings alone, written in many languages, contained a wealth of information about the cultures and peoples of the Middle East and provided 'a fascinating array of perspectives on a set of historical, literary and cultural relationships about which lively debate is certain to continue'.⁴ More broadly, this thesis has illuminated the breadth and depth of eighteenth-century scholarship on the Levant.

8.1 Comments on selected topics

By using a series of topical case studies in the third part of this thesis the diversity and appeal of subjects studied by the Russells were revealed. Although Part III focused on aspects of medicine, flora and fauna, and the exotic, it would have been equally possible to construct relevant chapters for many other topics: on religion, politics, economics, geography, families, local traditions and so on. A range of conclusions and considerations have arisen as a result of the selected topics in Part III which are identified below.

³ Starkey, 'James Rennell', 38–57.

⁴ Paul and Janet Starkey (eds), *Interpreting the Orient* (Reading: Ithaca, 2001), 6.

(1) Medical expertise and pestilential contagion (Chapter 5)

Medicine and natural history were crucial components of the intellectual culture of the Scottish Enlightenment.⁵ The Russells knew many prominent intellectual figures in Edinburgh and trained as physicians in the University of Edinburgh which was embracing the ‘new medicine’ of Boerhaave. The collegiality of the Edinburgh Medical Society and the energy of its few enlightened students were to remain with the Russells throughout their lives. Like other medical colleagues who are better known, such as Cullen and Hope, the Russells pioneered scientific and medical methodology, emancipating science from theological traditions and medicine from Galenic dogma. Although few, if any, of the standard works on medicine during the Scottish Enlightenment mention *Aleppo*, the Russells reflect the scientific nature of the Scottish Enlightenment for they were inspired by ideas in the natural sciences and used scientific models to describe observable facts and the experiences of another society.

The Russells not only treated a wide range of medical conditions but they also investigated local indigenous knowledge, socio-economic factors and environmental conditions, factors that are now being taken up in modern medicine. In addition, they delivered demonstrable benefits to Aleppine society, to the Levant Company and to medical knowledge and practice in Europe and were even involved in public policy having been nominated to Privy Council advisory boards. Alexander published regularly in high-quality journals whilst Patrick produced several original monographs: original studies on topics that were of keen interest to the public and medical practitioner alike. Patrick ensured that there was continuing dissemination and application of excellent research even after Alexander’s death. Nevertheless, the extent to which the Russells’ Aleppine medical knowledge came to influence other physicians in Scotland needs further investigation. The introduction of new scientific and medical ideas during the Enlightenment meant that there was a great appetite for Arabic medical knowledge by European physicians.

The Russells’ expertise on contagious diseases was highlighted in Chapter 5. One particular outcome was that the idea of pestilential contagion was increasingly

⁵ Wood, ‘Science in the Scottish Enlightenment’, 95.

accepted. Given that the Russells practised for years in Aleppo, their new and original medical insights, many of them important, cannot be lightly dismissed. They gained a deep and sophisticated understanding of medical conditions in the Ottoman empire, and provided a thorough scientific base of medical knowledge on the Levant, for the first time. In medicine there was no dramatic external change or abrupt scientific transition in either Europe or the Ottoman empire between the times of the first and second editions. Rather, there was gradual exploration of new diseases and potential cures. For physicians in the middle of the eighteenth century, medicine was still dominated by humoral theories and a revival in the Hippocratic concept of ‘airs, waters and places’. By the end of the century, pragmatic physicians were challenging ancient perceptions of disease with scientific rigour. This meant a search for balances and for wider aspects of health, hygiene and wellbeing alongside new therapeutics and experiments. It was therefore useful to explore how the two physicians cooperated on medical matters.

(3) *Aleppo* as a reliable reference on the natural environment of northern Syria (Chapter 6)

As the Russells demonstrated with their adoption of Linnaean terminology, there was a drive towards more precision through identification and classification. There is a marked contrast between the complex and confusing pre-Linnaean terminology of Alexander’s *Aleppo*¹ and the reworked Linnaean data in *Aleppo*² prepared by Patrick with the help of Solander and Banks.

The Russells’ botanical research was also part of a scientific revolution in therapeutics and experimental pharmacology. The Russells, like many of their colleagues, were interested in possible medicinal plants and other *materia medica*. This stimulated the collection of exotic seeds for flourishing botanical gardens in Europe.⁶ Yet, by the middle of the nineteenth century, simple natural histories for popular consumption were being published that had little in common with Patrick’s sophisticated study.

⁶ Lettsom, *Memoirs of John Fothergill*.

(4) The motif of the ‘exotic’ (Chapter 7)

During the Enlightenment there was a fascination with ‘taste’ and the ‘exotic’ supported by rational objective observations and a classical revival. However, *Aleppo* predates the nostalgia beloved of later travel writers in their search for the exotic. The ‘pleasures of the imagination’ flourished alongside a wider Galenic tradition that focused on the restoration of health and equilibrium of wellbeing. *Aleppo* is straightforward and well ordered, in the natural science tradition that lay behind the Enlightenment. Whilst Alexander drew delightful vignettes, Patrick embellished his account with additional ethnographic observations, more careful use of Arabic terminology and many references. By examining the harem, puppet shows, music and pseudo-ethnographies of the *Nights*, Chapter 7 illustrated how apparently exotic topics were treated in *Aleppo*.

The paradigm of Romanticism has long been seen as an anti-rationalistic reaction to the Enlightenment paradigm.⁷ Despite its down-to-earth style embedded in the Scottish Enlightenment, *Aleppo* itself fluctuates between the real and what might be thought by Europeans to be surreal, if romantic (implying notions of sentiment and fantasy). The apparently bizarre was presented in *Aleppo* with all the patina of normality and associated elements of pleasure, imagination, curiosity and wonder. Perhaps the ‘other’ will always be seen through ‘a preconceived veil of make-believe, one that changes with the circumstances under which the two meet.’⁸ Any discussion of ‘Oriental’ cultures is necessarily a description of the ‘Other’ but in *Aleppo* there is no sense of decadence, hedonism, or perfumed sensuality which subsequently became identified as the exotic elements of later Romanticism.

8.2 Suggestions for future research projects

There still are fascinating networks to research about the Russells’ family and professional networks, including (a) artists, such as Ehret and Miller, who provided the illustrations for the *Aleppo*; (b) the Russells’ medical observations and many other topics covered in the two editions; (c) the Russells’ natural history observations

⁷ Sir Hamilton Gibb, *Modern Trends in Islam* (New York: Octagon Books, 1972), 107–8.

⁸ Denys Johnson-Davis, ‘Stereotyping the Other’, *al-Ahram Weekly* 480 (11–17 May 2000), weekly.ahram.org.eg/2000/481/bk4_481.htm (25 November 2009).

and the location of specimens of plants, fishes, birds, mammals and insects they brought back to Europe and the identification of habitats in modern Syria (if access is possible); (d) the impact of *Aleppo* on later travel writing on the Levant; and (e) the Russells' roles in collecting Arabic manuscripts and what these manuscripts contain. Some suggestions of specific lines of enquiry are outlined below.

(1) Discovering missing journals, diaries and letter-books

There are various manuscripts listed in *Aleppo*⁹ and Patrick's obituary mentioned his many letters held by his relatives in Scotland: 'highly interesting and amusing; they are pictures of his conversation, often exhibiting a lively imagination with a witty playfulness of thought and expression.'¹⁰ It may yet be possible: in July 2006 long-lost letters and papers by the brothers David and James Anderson, friends of Claud Russell and collectors of Oriental manuscripts,¹¹ were discovered in a suitcase and auctioned in Edinburgh,¹² Patrick's extensive manuscript notes on his memoirs and on 'his activities during the plague in Aleppo in the 1760s, sent in the form of a letter to his brother Claud in Edinburgh in 1808 [1805], providing considerable information on Russell's activities during the plague, in fine condition, 4.5pp folio.', were sold in 2003.¹³

(2) The Russell family

Other Russells in Edinburgh (such as John Russell of Roseburn and David, the accountant), and London, such as William (despite his being Secretary to the Levant Company in London), remain frustratingly elusive.

⁹ Also missing are diaries kept by a Maronite priest in 1743 (in Alexander's possession); Alexander's manuscript copies of 'A Diary of the progress of the Plague in 1742, 1743, and 1744', 'Journals of Pestilential Cases'; and his 'Meteorological Register' (*Aleppo*², i, v; ii, 279–80, 341–7, 394).

¹⁰ [Home], 'Patrick Russell', 8.

¹¹ The Anderson collection of 157 volumes is now in the University of Edinburgh library, thus bringing this thesis, in some way, full circle back to Scotland.

¹² The auction sale was at Lyon and Turnbull's auction house at Broughton Place, Edinburgh, on 11 July 2006 and this lot 280 fetched £12,000. *Edinburgh Evening News*, <http://news.scotsman.com/edinburgh/Revealed-letters-enveloped-by-time.2789502.jp>.

¹³ Lot 191, Mullock's Specialist Sporting Auctioneers, Church Stretton, Shropshire, 2003. No reply for a request to the auction house to obtain access has yet been received

(3) Persian and Indian elements

There is much yet to be discovered about Patrick's place in the history of the natural history of India. There is more to write about Claud and other family members and friends in India, including Hastings, Jones, Rennell, Inglis and Josiah du Pré. More research is needed about *munshī* Ismā'īl, Claud's Persian teacher and his experiences in London in 1772.

(4) Medical observations

What was the impact of the Russells' medical experiences in Aleppo on medicine in Scotland in the eighteenth century? Furthermore, the Russells' medical observations might usefully be investigated in the light of modern scientific developments, an approach advocated by Andrew Knoll.¹⁴ Modern medicine is gradually returning to the suggestion that there are combinations of multiple causes of medical conditions as had been previously suggested by the Russells and other eighteenth-century physicians. Some ideas may still be relevant; holistic medicine and wellbeing are again being linked to environmental conditions, whilst local indigenous knowledge, social and economic backgrounds are being readdressed. Intriguingly, connections between earthquakes and epidemics, current until the eighteenth century, are now being postulated as possible causes of the plague, alongside famine, migration and rural upheavals.¹⁵ Further research is needed to explore varying resistance to contagious diseases in a community such as Aleppo.

(5) Scientific analysis of the Russells' extant collections of flora and fauna

After Patrick's death in 1805, his collection of snake specimens (and several donated by Claud) was given to the India Museum (then the Honorary Company's Museum in India House). In 1881 the British Museum (Natural History) was formed, and a sheet of flowering plants collected around Aleppo by Alexander and Patrick about

¹⁴ Andrew M. Knoll, 'The reawakening of complementary and alternative medicine at the turn of the twenty-first century', *Journal of Contemporary Health Law and Policy* 20 (2004), 330–66.

¹⁵ André Raymond, 'Les grandes épidémies de peste au Caire aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles,' *Bulletin d'études orientales* 25 (1973), 203–10; Alan Mikhail, 'The nature of plague in late eighteenth-century Egypt', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82 (2008), 249–75.

1753 is still held there.¹⁶ Though part of his collection remains in the Natural History Museum, London, duplicates were sent to various British museums and it is now difficult to locate these specimens.¹⁷ Patrick's collections of plants and fishes given by him to the EIC in Madras are now at Kew, and his drawings and specimens from Aleppo, together with those of Alexander, are in the Botanical Department of the Natural History Museum.¹⁸ There may be other holdings in the India Office at the British Library, at Kew Gardens, the British Museum, the Natural History Museum, the Royal Society and other medical societies in London, Glasgow and Edinburgh — as well as in the field in Syria and in India.

(6) *Materia medica*

Further research is needed about the methods of acquiring medicines and for keeping up to date with the latest medical research in Europe whilst the Russells were in Aleppo. Pharmacologists have yet to readdress sources, recipes and ingredients of medicines that are given in *Aleppo* or comparable travel literature to test whether they should be consigned to history or contain some vital therapies. For example, Patrick used mercury to treat *lues venera* (syphilis), a therapy that continued, though unproven, into the early twentieth century, yet the US Food and Drug Agency still has inadequate data about the safety of mercury in diuretics and other over-the-counter medicines.¹⁹

¹⁶ BM000060453. *Heteranthelium piliferum* (Banks & Sol.) Hochst.; *Poaceae*; collected by Patrick: BM000758490 *Marrubium cuneatum* Russell; *Lamiaceae*; BM000797012 *Stachys italica* var. *pungens* (Russell) Benth.; *Lamiaceae*.

¹⁷ Ray Desmond, *European discovery of Indian flora* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

¹⁸ Natural History Museum, London. 'Patrick Russell, 47 numbered 1–60'. Watercolour drawings of Indian plants, 47 very likely executed by local indigenous artists (Botany); Patrick Russell, Reptiles: an important collection of watercolour drawings of reptiles, some being original Company School drawings for Patrick Russell's book on Indian snakes, etc. [sold at] Sotheby's ... Catalogue of printed books, Tuesday, 22nd November 1977 ... Lot 325; accompanied by Memo regarding the sale by P.J.P. Whitehead and A.F. Stimson, Zoology Dept., NHM. Zoology. 96A o TR; 96A o Tr (drawings); NHM Archives DF BOT/440/16 James Britten papers: Notes on Alexander Russell's *The Natural History of Aleppo* [Syria].⁷ Patrick's *An Account of Indian serpents, collected on the coast of Coromandel* (London: W. Bulmer, 1796) was reviewed very favourably in *The British Critic* 9 (1797), 221–31.

¹⁹ *Aleppo*², ii, 306. United States Food and Drug Administration, 'Title 21 — Food and Drugs Chapter I — Food and Drug Administration Department of Health and Human Services Subchapter D — Drugs for Human Use Code of federal regulations', www.accessdata.fda.gov (6 July 2012).

(7) The influences of *Aleppo* on later travel writers

These could include the work of the explorer John Lewis Burckhardt (1784–1817), who studied Arabic in Aleppo between 1809 and 1811 and whose *Travel in Syria and the Holy Land* has detailed and meticulous observations of its *sūqs*, *khāns* and caravans, the *ḥammām*, weddings, horses, food and women.²⁰ Again, more analysis of the full impact of *Aleppo* as a literary model for Lane's *Manners and customs* would make a fascinating research topic.

(8) Arabic manuscripts collected by the Russell family

It would be interesting to compare Buckhardt's *Arab proverbs* with those compiled by Patrick.²¹ There may be letters or accounts in Arabic, Persian or Ottoman Turkish about the Russells written by people they knew in the Middle East that have yet to be found. Above all, further work is needed on the Arabic manuscripts collected by the Russells.

8.3 Conclusion

No doubt it is reasonable to read *Aleppo* with rose-tinted spectacles, but to do justice to the range of subjects covered in *Aleppo* and the richness of authoritative references used by the Russells, two polymath physicians, may well be impossible. Their readiness to embrace new ideas and experiences was admirable. Their research tools ranged from Arabic to Linnaean terminology. Topics covered included unfamiliar and dangerous diseases (such as the plague), conversations with local dignitaries, local Bedouin and Pashas; manuscripts, natural history, political structures, and religious communities.

For most modern readers, *Aleppo* reads like a parable of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism, a fable of reason, objectivity and classification, and of sympathy and experience. A 'scientific travelogue', *Aleppo* remains a useful primary source for many modern scientific and non-scientific disciplines, and especially the history of Middle Eastern studies. The more sophisticated *Aleppo*² was produced at a time of great change in Europe but Patrick's interests were predominantly scientific, never

²⁰ London: Murray, 1822. Starkey, 'No myopic mirage'.

²¹ London: Murray, 1830.

expansionist or imperialist. The French Revolution preoccupied and terrified the reading classes in Britain during the 1790s; the Industrial Revolution was stimulating extraordinary social and political changes; the British and French were expanding imperialistically into the Middle East and beyond. The long period of the Enlightenment was making way for increased scientific specialism and classification. Scientific travelogues ultimately betrayed Europe's expansionist ambitions as mediated through their classificatory apparatus.²²

To conclude, the Enlightenment was a period of free-floating curiosity, as witnessed by the amassing of miscellaneous objects, specimens of flora and fauna and ethnographic artefacts for curiosity cabinets in the West. The empirical precision of modern ethnography²³ had its roots in the 'rational observation' and 'narrative truthfulness' of the Enlightenment, with all its philosophical reflections. Indeed, the Russells engaged objectively and impartially with the particularities of other cultures across a wide range of disciplines. Their studies echoed the advice given by Professor William Cullen MD to his pupil their brother Balfour Russell (nicknamed 'Fourie') in 1759: 'I think that you should be engaged in two kinds of studies, one that you should make a regular task of, and the other you should make as a pleasure when opportunity offers, and inclination prompts you.'²⁴

²² Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*.

²³ Ethnography: 'the study of a group of living people – how they live, how they interact, what they believe, how they behave, what kinds of objects they use, and what they do', www.webarchaeology.com/Html/ethnogra.htm (2 August 2002).

²⁴ 4. October 1759, in Thompson, *Dr William Cullen*, 130.

Appendices and Bibliographies